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The Missing Taxpayers

Joseph A. Ruskay

Wallace's Strategy — *Thaddeus Knap*

Reston on the Press — *Marquis Childs*

South Korean Election — *Albert Axelbank*

Mind Over Matter — *Stanley Kauffmann*

The Sinister Hand — *The Editors*

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

The Dirksen Caper

★ Suffolk County, Long Island, includes 10 towns. They range in population from 1,300 up to 172,000. Yet each town, big or small, has one member on the county board of supervisors. The giant is tied down by pygmies.

Grand Rapids, Mich., has over half the population of Kent County. But it has only one vote of 21 in the annual selection of school board members.

Dothan, in Houston County, Ala., has 61 percent of the people in the county. It elects only one of five county governors.

Three cases protesting apportionment, plus a fourth in Virginia, are now before the Supreme Court testing how far one-man, one-vote shall dissolve rotten boroughs. There are about 90,000 local political bodies in the US, of which perhaps 20,000 would be affected by a Court ruling.

It is a real question how far the Court can or should carry its directive. In state legislatures the one-man, one-vote decision has had spectacular results. The reapportioned Maryland legislature, for example, under a Republican governor, has just made the best record in years. Many Republicans fought the reform, but it develops that what the GOP lost in villages they made up in the suburbs. Numbing rural control is on its way out.

It seems fantastic, therefore, that Everett Dirksen is still trying to overturn the reform. Yet under Dirksen initiative, 32 of the necessary 34 state legislatures have petitioned for a constitutional convention to reconsider it. The Constitution says that if two-thirds of the states petition, Congress "shall" call such a convention. That is mandatory. But there is an out; Congress can decide whether the petitions are valid. For one reason or another Congress can throw out at least half of the present petitions.

America has had no constitutional convention since 1787 and it can be said with confidence that it won't have one now. A convention could revise the Bill of Rights, end separation of church and state, outlaw strikes, do anything. Fortunately, whatever it proposes would have to be approved by three-fourths of the states; but it won't meet anyway. Dirksen doesn't want it any more than anybody else.

The threat to "call a convention" is an old political device to bring pressure on Congress. It has worked only once. When the House repeatedly backed an amendment for direct election of senators and the Senate refused to act, the threat of a constitutional convention finally brought the old fogeys around. The Senate capitulated, the states approved and the 17th Amendment took effect in 1913.

But that was an amendment to extend democracy. Now Dirksen is trying to curtail democracy. It is strange that the Republicans should allow their official leader in Congress to take this outrageous position. He wants Congress to initiate a constitutional amendment to emasculate the Supreme Court decision, by giving states the option to elect one House on a basis other than population: by the number of cows, say, in each county. How gullible can he think we are? Conservative control of one House means minority veto over the whole legislature; it means rural downstate control in Illinois; minority veto of civil rights in Mississippi.

That is what the Dirksen Caper is trying to achieve; that's what it's all about.

$40,000 for You?

★ A trillion is a "1" with 12 zeros after it. There are 2.6 trillion barrels of shale oil in three Rocky Mountain states, 80 percent on government land, owned by you and me. It's ours, but we don't know it. When technology learns how to extract it, it will be worth about $40,000 for each American household. It will be fun to stick around to see if private exploiters can grab this treasure. They got the huge railway land grants in the decade after the Civil War. They despoiled great timber resources (and are sawing down the 2,000-year-old redwoods right now). They had a near miss at Muscle Shoals. They almost got Teapot Dome and Elk Hills. They got the 27.5 percent depletion allowance. They got the airwaves. They got the offshore oil reserves, but, by a lucky fluke, the grab was only partly successful because most of the oil along the continental shelf proved to be beyond the three-mile limit! With a record like that, can anybody be certain that the most fabulous prize of all, shale oil, will be kept for the public?

Paul Douglas last week, before the Senate antimonopoly committee, urged the creation of a permanent National Citizens Watchdog Committee. It would blow the whistle on attempted oil shale giveaways. Ken Galbraith, another witness, exclaimed, "It's a tragedy the public are unaware of what they own!" Colorado University economist Morris Garnsey proposed a ComSat corporation, combining public and private interests, to direct research, mining and exploitation.

Catholic Revolt

★ The faculty of the School of Theology at Catholic University announced last week that it would not function until a young liberal priest, Father Curran, was reinstated. He had been told by the Board of Trustees that his contract would not be renewed. Among other views he favors birth control. Students rallied behind him.

What the ferment within the Church will produce nobody can guess. Recently the *National Catholic Reporter*, in a notable scoop, published the majority report of the Papal Commission on Birth Control – favoring the practice. And recently we heard CBS Rome correspondent Winston Burdett, back in New York, being interviewed on the subject. As he frankly put it, a "revolution" is going on and the majority are way ahead of Pope Paul.

We don't know how long it will take to fill the gap between theology and reality. But the carefully reasoned report of the majority of the Papal Commission seemed to offer a bridge between the two.

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The Sinister Hand

"Conspiracy has been a familiar theme in our political discourse," Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. wrote last year. "It expresses itself today in the notion on the right that the communists are fomenting the antiwar demonstrations in the United States." This year, the right has lost its monopoly on the notion, which is seriously engaging the Administration. In reporting the big antiwar demonstrations that took place on April 15, *The Christian Science Monitor* said on its front page: "The discontent which many Americans feel about the war in Vietnam was visible in New York, where an estimated 125,000 peace advocates gathered, and in San Francisco, where between 20,000 and 40,000 marched." But when Secretary Rusk appeared on television April 16, and was asked if he thought that the peace demonstrations were "communist-inspired," he replied – "with a small grin," according to *The New York Times* – "I am giving you my responsible personal view that the communist apparatus is working very hard on it."

The day of the demonstrations, the White House announced that President Johnson was studying an FBI report on "antiwar activity" in the country, hot from the hand of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. Curious newsmen asked Press Secretary George Christian if the Hoover report raised charges of communist influence. Christian refused to go into that, said it was sheer coincidence that the report had arrived that day, that the President got memos from Mr. Hoover "on a regular basis, whenever he has anything to report." Christian added that he himself had announced receipt of such reports in the past, only he couldn't remember the dates. "Neither," commented United Press International with a suspicion of dry wit, "could newsmen."

Two weeks *before* the April 15 demonstrations, the House Un-American Activities Committee published a report called "Communist Origin and Manipulation of Vietnam Week (April 8-15)." The HUAC report confidently forecast: "Such success as the instigators and organizers of Vietnam Week may have in staging anti-US demonstrations April 8-15, and in turning out large numbers of people for the New York and San Francisco demonstrations, must be attributed primarily to the communists." The HUAC report is a wholly undeserved tribute to the terrifying powers of Bettina Aptheker, who said last fall she had in mind to spearhead a student revolution she hoped would replace this country's form of government. She got 32 sponsors of a nationwide student strike, and HUAC calls attention to the sinister fact that, of the 32, two were, like herself, "the offspring of

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known communists." Calls then went out to "Dear Students, Professors and Friends," announcing that a conference to plan a student strike would be held at the University of Chicago on December 28 and 29, 1966. But meanwhile Miss Aptheker had managed to secure another 160 sponsors, and the HUAC report says, "they made it appear that she was no more than one of the 193 sponsors of the call." And so, by then, she was. Anyhow, the alleged attempt at self-concealment did her little good. True, 257 persons attended a meeting held at the University of Chicago at the end of December to discuss the idea of a nationwide student strike. And they included representatives of the Communist Party of the United States, which is currently pro-Russian, of the Progressive Labor Party which is pro-Peking, the Socialist Workers Party which is Trotskyist, and the Youth Against War and Fascism, which is a Trotskyist splinter group. But, as almost anyone except perhaps HUAC could have guessed, they were soon at one another's throats. The PLP, for instance, attacked everyone else as a "revisionist." Also present were non-communists, like Eugene Groves, president of the National Student Association, who said, "I'm here to decide what role NSA can play," and Professor Sidney M. Peck, of the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy, the organization that began teach-ins. There were a number of non-events, duly noted by the HUAC report. Rev. James L. Bevel, on leave from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, did *not* appear; a film called *Sons and Daughters*, scheduled for the evening session, was *not* shown. Registration fees netted only $300, indicating that a lot of the 257 delegates failed to produce the $2 fee. The biggest non-event of all was that "it was generally agreed that a nationwide student strike was not realistic at this time."

So the Chicago conference decided instead to support the Vietnam antiwar demonstrations that a different organization, the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, had decided to stage. The Spring Mobilization Committee was formed in Cleveland on November 26 at a meeting of 150 persons. The president was the late A. J. Muste ("has long fronted for communists" – J. Edgar Hoover). The vice chairmen were Edward Keating, editor-in-chief and publisher of *Ramparts*, and David Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*, the "monthly of revolutionary nonviolence." Also present were members of the Students for a Democratic Society. At the end of August, Bettina Aptheker had addressed a convention of the SDS, which turned down her student strike plan as impracticable. In fact, the HUAC report says, not only did the SDS national organization fail to endorse either a student strike or the Vietnam Week idea, but there was "repeated opposition of SDS officials" to both plans. This didn't prevent some SDS units and members eventually supporting Vietnam Week; HUAC attributes this to SDS "welcoming communists and radicals of all descriptions" to its ranks.

The continuations committee of the Chicago conference set up a New York office that served as the national headquarters of a Student Mobilization Committee. It solicited funds, and published *The Student Mobilizer* that printed antiwar articles. It also ran a piece by Bettina Aptheker, still plugging her plan for a student strike. She hopefully (but, as it proved, fruitlessly) proposed an April 8-14 strike. HUAC regards Miss Aptheker's article in the *Mobilizer* as evidence that the Student Mobilization Committee, like the Spring Mobilization Committee, was "dominated" by communists. The HUAC report also cites an ad, appealing for funds, that the Student Mobilization Committee placed in the March 12 issue of *The Worker*, headed: "The CIA Doesn't Support Us! We Need You!" According to HUAC, there were similar goings-on at the West Coast headquarters of the Student Mobilization Committee, "located at 2495 Shattuck Avenue in Berkeley, which is the headquarters of Women for Peace, an organization which, since it was first formed in the fall of 1961, has enjoyed the complete support of the Communist Party."

The overwhelming majority of the 150,000 Americans who took part in antiwar demonstrations in New York and San Francisco on April 15 almost certainly knew nothing, and probably care less, about what went on behind the organizational scenes between last November and this month. They ought to read the HUAC report on it; for sheer entertainment value, it's hard to beat for 50 cents. But will they, or anyone else, buy HUAC's conclusion that, "The constant professions of a desire for 'peace' which have appeared in the literature and publicity related to Vietnam Week are completely insincere"? HUAC hotly denies that the purpose of its report is to "stifle honest and legitimate dissent." It insists that, "Nothing could be farther from the truth." But it all depends on what's meant by "honest" and "legitimate." According to HUAC, the only kind of dissent meriting those adjectives is the sort that adds to the public's "appreciation of the basic correctness of the policy our government is pursuing." Is that what the President and Rusk think?

Tarfoot

As the *Torrey Canyon* slowly split in two on the Seven Stones, staining British beaches with 120,000 tons of crude oil, many could recall milder forms of pollution on ocean beaches – the oil and tar on bare feet and bathing suits. Each year this contamination increases.

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What would have been the result had a tanker the size of *Torrey Canyon* been stranded on the shoals of Cape Cod, Long Island or Hatteras? We had a foretaste of that in 1951 when the *Pendleton* was wrecked on Cape Cod. But what greater catastrophes are in store from future megaton oil tankers with capacities of 200,000, 300,000 or even 500,000 tons? (As recently as the last war, a standard tanker carried 15,000 tons.) The *Torrey Canyon* was built in Japan, owned in Bermuda, registered in Liberia, sailed under an Italian master and crew, was on charter to a British corporation, and had been contracted for salvage to a Dutch company. Only international action will meet such a situation.

As the oil drifted onto 100 miles of Cornish beaches and spread toward the West Country and then across the channel to France, it was the waterfowl and marine life that were the first victims. Efforts to lessen the destruction by large-scale use of detergents proved futile; fish and shellfish were further menaced. Oil-soaked birds could not fly. Rescue operations could assist only a few of these, and end the torment of others. Some species were threatened with extinction. French children and teachers tried to rescue stricken birds in sanctuaries on the Brittany coast.

The effect of even small amounts of crude oil upon sea birds is well known. The oil spreads widely upon the water in a thin film that is long lasting. Small amounts are sufficient to mat the feathers and reduce their insulating protection against the cold. Birds are poisoned by oil when attempting to clean themselves.

American eyes were opened to what has long been accepted as routine destruction of waterfowl along our own coasts. In southern New Jersey recently migrating scoters were beached in oil-soaked thousands, to be given first aid by Coast Guardsmen and conservation groups, who reported spending an hour on each duck to get it clean, and the birds were still seriously handicapped when released. Last week, Cape Cod beaches too were hit by a large oil slick.

The disaster has evoked other fears of runaway technology, the pollution of detergents foaming out of sewage disposal plants onto streams and lakes, of chemical pesticides poisoning birds and marine life to say nothing of milk and agricultural products, of sonic booms, clattering helicopters and roaring jets, of power failures and blackouts. The lack of information on the ecological effects of oil and of detergents shocks public confidence. Worst of all is the growing realization of our technological unpreparedness to deal with pollution threats of this size, even by such relatively advanced methods as floating booms or devices to skim surface pollution, and the failure to invoke them promptly.

As criticism of their government's efforts mounted, the British public was dismayed, once the picturesque Admiralty law had been penetrated, to realize how obsolescent and feeble were its powers. No one damaged by the negligence of the *Torrey Canyon* is likely to receive compensation. When the town of Southport in 1954 sued the oil tanker *Inverpool* for damages, the House of Lords reversed the finding of lower courts that shipping could be liable for discharging oil and damaging the shore. Parliament has failed to act on the court's suggestions that further legislation might be especially desirable for the protection of the public in such cases.

In this country, Congress last November passed the Clean Rivers Restoration Act, considerably broadening earlier legislation, and for the first time placing the responsibility for enforcement in the Interior Department. Aided by the Coast Guard, the Corps of Engineers and other agencies, the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration can act to prevent pollution, impose criminal penalties on individuals and on vessels, and where beaches have been polluted take the necessary steps to clean them and recover the cost of such work from those who caused the damage. In principle, the federal government acts for any state or local government that may suffer damage. No occasion to test these new powers has as yet arisen, but there could hardly be a better time to start.

An earlier Oil Pollution Act of 1961 prohibits any dumping of oil within 50 miles from shore lines. This is a nice, round lawyer's figure which might be extended further or revised to reflect some facts of nature.

Led by Shell, Standard of New Jersey and British Petroleum new methods are being used to concentrate oily wastes aboard and dispose of them after landing. Accelerating the adoption of such methods might be an object of public attention. Beyond this, however, what is needed is a stricter supervision of the movement of shipping, especially that with potentially hazardous cargo, and reasonable limits should be imposed on the size of tankers. Such controls will have to be international, but the United States has a clear interest and responsibility to lead. The International Convention of Prevention of Oil Pollution of the Sea is not adequate to disasters like the *Torrey Canyon*, and the machinery of the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization is too cumbersome.

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, who has been put in charge of our principal oceanographic activities as chairman of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, was in Great Britain during the *Torrey Canyon* disaster and could see at firsthand the anguish of a nation which cares deeply about its natural environment, its recreation areas and its wildlife. It is an appropriate time for him to initiate an international effort to control the creeping pollution of our beaches, and the continuing threat of other marine catastrophes.

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Digest That!

The process of natural selection works nowhere more inevitably than in the magazine business. "The expectation of failure" said Noah Webster, "is connected with the very name magazine." In the first nine months of 1966, 30 new consumer magazines appeared; 15 magazines were sold, merged or became defunct. Established publishers had trouble with new ventures. *Family Circle* brought out a new magazine called *Accent on Leisure*. It lasted three issues. Curtis *(Saturday Evening Post, Ladies Home Journal, Holiday)* put out *Journal Miss*. Its first issue was its last.

Now the *Reader's Digest* (17,222,000 circulation) is coming out with *Campus Courier*, a slick *Digest* mutant designed to run as a biweekly supplement in college papers. The tactics used by the *Digest* to get the *Courier* off the ground are instructive.

First, in March 1966, the *Digest* acquired National Educational Advertising Services, the company which places national advertising in more than 900 college papers. If a big advertiser wants to reach, say, half a million college kids, NEAS can pick out 55 college newspapers and place the ads. The plum can go to Berkeley if NEAS likes, or elsewhere. The *Digest* which had long wanted to put out a magazine for the college market thought that NEAS might have some luck distributing the *Courier*.

Next, the *Digest* printed a dummy April issue (they prefer the word "prototype") to show advertisers how they would look in four colors, at $5,950 a page, and to show college editors what to expect from the *Courier* – an article by Margaret Mead on early marriage; Hubert Humphrey on his dad ("The first time I ever saw my father weep . . .").

Then the NEAS began its hard sell. In early April it approached about 60 college papers and offered them the *Courier*, which will begin publication in late September and put out 16 issues during the school year. For taking the *Campus Courier* the papers were promised five cents a copy for the first 3,000 distributed, plus a cent and a half thereafter. A paper such as the *Michigan Daily* with 9,500 circulation would make perhaps $3,480 a year for doing nothing but inserting the *Courier* in the *Daily* twice a month. NEAS even promised to print a disclaimer in each issue saying that newspapers do not necessarily endorse its editorial content, thus allowing college papers to take the lucre and shirk the responsibility.

The most impressive selling point was that newspapers which accepted the *Courier* might find that the big national advertisers who took space in the magazine would also want to place separate ads with them: "Ultimately many national advertisers will want to use both your newspaper and *Campus Courier* with interlocking schedules." It is a short step from this to the converse – that *Courier* advertisers or the powerful NEAS itself might lose interest in newspapers which balked and deny them advertising accounts. Robert Tuteur, the business manager of the *Daily Pennsylvanian* had a conversation with B. R. MacMannis, general manager of NEAS, in which Tuteur says he was told that US Rubber planned to take ads in the *Courier* and would take separate advertising space in papers taking the *Courier*, but only in subscribing papers. Tuteur took this as a threat. MacMannis now insists that other papers might eventually get this local advertising, too.

So far, NEAS says it has 21 or 22 schools in its stable, guaranteeing nearly half the 500,000 base circulation promised advertisers. But some papers are holding out. Among them are the student publications at Rutgers, the University of Pittsburgh, UCLA, Berkeley, the University of Colorado, Utah, Columbia, Michigan, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Purdue, Temple, Harvard, Yale and Illinois.

Baltimore Clamps Down

The City of Baltimore is bringing wholesale charges of fraud against people it claims have received overpayments from the Welfare Department. A woman is accused of fraud because her small boy has a job distributing circulars and she didn't report this "income" to the department. Women are accused of fraud because they took small amounts of money from men who had jobs. (You can't get welfare payments if your husband is working; to get enough to live on, families break up.) A man, unable to work because of an injury, is charged with fraud because he didn't tell the Welfare people about a workman's compensation payment used to pay his creditors.

These cases are being brought in both the city municipal court where the maximum penalty is $500 fine and two years in jail, and in the criminal court where the maximum penalty is 10 years in prison. There are 20 or so cases now before the courts.

In the city municipal court, Judge Joseph Finnerty metes out justice. Reports of the proceedings published by the *Baltimore Sun* sound like a chapter from Dickens. Here are a couple of samples: Mrs. Juanita Glover, 23, charged with accepting $173 in overpayments from the Welfare Department, was found guilty and given a six months' sentence in the Maryland Correctional Institution for Women. Judge Finnerty, however, suspended this sentence and instead placed Mrs. Glover on probation for two years and fined her $250, to be paid in six months. Mrs. Elizabeth L. Folkes, 33, was charged with accepting $505 in overpayments. But

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Judge Finnerty's court can't deal with matters involving more than $500, so the amount was reduced to $495. Mrs. Folkes had applied for relief in August 1965, and then began working in November of that year, earning $55 a week. She did not report this fact to the agency until February 1966. When her attorney suggested the case fell under the statute of limitations, Judge Finnerty flushed and said, "You're not going to play fast and loose with me." He then ordered the woman to pay $425 to the probation department during the next nine months.

According to lawyers for the accused, many do not understand the intricacies of the welfare regulations; some can't read or write; others are mentally deranged. In a number of instances the people are on welfare and will have to take the support money used to buy food for children in order to repay the city.

AFTRA the Fact

The first strike in the 30-year history of the American Federation of Radio and Television Artists (AFTRA) lasted 13 days and ended with the union getting little more from CBS and NBC than the networks had offered earlier. But the strike raised two matters of significance.

One is what unions call "the threat of automation" and what employers call "featherbedding." In the AFTRA strike the issue was standby announcers. CBS and NBC record music for their FM radio outlets at central stations, then distribute the tapes to the six other FM stations that each network owns. Introductions and other spoken material are recorded at the same time. AFTRA wanted a standby announcer to be employed at those local stations while the tapes are played. The networks refused to budge on this point.

The other matter is specific to unions that deal partly but not exclusively with creative or imaginative enterprise. Salary adjustments were asked for newsmen working in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles – about 150 individuals out of an AFTRA membership of 18,000. It was this fact that split the Huntley-Brinkley team during the strike. Brinkley went along with AFTRA. Huntley continued to broadcast because he didn't want to have his fate determined by "18,000 singers, dancers and jugglers" even though in this case they were trying to improve the lot of his confreres.

The featherbedding/automation issue will continue to be a running sore until there is some national plan – government-sponsored, rational and humane – for retraining, relocation and readjustment: a program that will protect individuals and also give society the benefit of technological advances.

The problem of professional elitism is less easily soluble. The basic credo of the CIO, dating from 1935, has been organization by industry, rather than by craft. One of the first cracks in this principle appeared during the New York newspaper strike last year when several well-known writers on the *Herald-Tribune* protested that they were handcuffed to many nonwriters in the Newspaper Guild, that the interests of all the Guild membership were not identical, and the paper might die in the conflict. The writers' prediction was sound, but would their separation have produced a long-lasting way of survival? Would a separate union of TV newsmen, mentioned as a possibility by Huntley, prove more effective in the event than the present arrangement? The hard history of labor – and of human nature – shows that, in the vast majority, employers do not move unless shoved; and size is the only thing that can shove them. Any splinter union would need to retain close ties with associated unions to provide solidarity in case of trouble. In that case why bother to splinter off (and risk resentment on the part of the parent group)?

Still, labor historians of the future may note this decade as one in which the impulse to craft unions reappeared. The paradox is that this impulse derives, at least in part, from some of the benefits of industry-wide unionization: increases in affluence and education and upward social mobility.

George Wallace Maps His Way to the White House

Alabama State Sen. George Lewis Bailes Jr., who has known former Gov. George C. Wallace since they were in college together 25 years ago, says it's a mistake to "pooh-pooh" him. "He set his mind back then that he wanted to be governor and then President," Bailes recalled. "I don't think he can make it, but he thinks he can. He figures he can parlay a protest into the presidency." "Gov. George," as he's known during his wife's term as governor, sees three streams of dissent carrying him to the White House. From the South it's the segregationist's angry resentment against the federal government; in the North it's backlash, whipped up by threats of school busing and Negroes moving into the neighborhood; all over it's impatience with Vietnam, as many voters yearn for simpler solutions than those offered by Lyndon Johnson and George Romney.

Politicians argue about which party Wallace would hurt most in 1968. Wallace says they're missing the main point: "I'll hurt Republicans in the South, because without me they could carry it again over Johnson like they did in 1964. I'll hurt Johnson in the North, where I've got a lot of support among factory workers, taxi drivers, beauticians, Polish people, Italians – a lot

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of people like that who vote Democratic. But I'm not trying to be just a spoiler. I'm in there to be elected President." He made clear in a two-hour interview at Gov. Lurleen's desk in the state capitol that he is a de facto candidate. He has a campaign staff of eight, soon to be expanded to 12, costing about $10,000 a month. Its director estimates that $1 million has come to them in the mail – which runs 200 to 300 letters a day – and the staff figures it can raise $10 million.

Wallace's timetable calls for an announcement late this year. In the meantime, leaving Lurleen back in Montgomery to see that the Confederate flag flies over the state capitol, Wallace is making out-of-state speeches and nationwide television appearances. The speaking engagements lined up by campaign director Bill Jones are a choice lot, including university students at Syracuse, N. Y., a dinner meeting of a Pittsburgh executives' organization called Amen Corner, the Cleveland City Club, Parents' Day at Rose Polytechnic Institute in Terre Haute, Ind., a high school youth for America rally in Concord, N.H., and a New England meeting of Sigma Delta Chi.

Wallace has "no illusions" about being able to take the Democratic nomination away from LBJ, and if something unforeseen happens, the professional politicians would turn to Hubert Humphrey, two Senators Kennedy and all their relatives, Democratic members of Congress and at least some city councilmen.

Nevertheless Wallace plans to enter several Democratic primaries. It will be a good way to test his popularity and draw nationwide attention to his campaign. Subsequent strategy decisions "depend on what success we might have in a primary."

If Wallace scores well in primaries, he would continue his candidacy as a Democrat until that party's convention denies him the nomination. Then in November he could run on a "new party" ticket (he refuses to call it a third party) on the grounds that the national Democratic and Republican Parties are one and the same. "Do you know," Wallace says, "that you don't have to get a majority of the votes in a state to get all its electoral votes? All you need is more votes than anybody else got. In a three-man race you can win with 34 percent. It could be a four-man race, with someone like Adam Clayton Powell or Stokely Carmichael or Dick Gregory running." Another fourth party possibility: Martin Luther King.

"You know I got 44 percent of the vote in the Democratic primary in Maryland in 1964," he adds. "And 34 percent in Wisconsin and nearly 30 in Indiana." And these '64 primary bids were hastily put together and financed with $396,000 that came in the mail.

In a close election, Wallace could capture enough states, particularly in the South, to block either of the major party candidates from winning an electoral college majority. He figures he could ask his electors to cast their votes for the candidate who would agree to appoint the "right people" to posts like Attorney General. (If the electoral college can't decide the election, it goes to the House of Representatives.)

Wallace's Vietnam platform calls for quick, decisive military victory. He plans to go to Vietnam this year, and it's a good bet that after visiting US fighting men the World War II sergeant will call on the commander-in-chief to "kick the daylights out of them communists." If the public responds, so could President Johnson. So could the Republican nominee, one way or another, depending on who he is.

Simple outrage runs through the entire Wallace platform. He's against "federal controls," against foreign aid "giveaways," against "coddling criminals." To help eliminate crime in the streets and parks, Wallace would "give moral support to the police" and appoint judges who would "adhere to the Constitution" and "try criminals, not policemen." He points out that he is "the only presidential candidate" who has "come out against the [Soviet] consular treaty."

However, the foundations of the Wallace campaign are his stands at schoolhouse doors. The first, at the University of Alabama in 1963, failed to block its integration but launched his 1964 primary bids. ('Bama President Dr. Frank Rose remains an enemy of Wallace to this day.) Wallace's second "schoolhouse stand" failed to block imposition of federal desegregation guidelines but provided some rip-roaring speeches in the "Ma and Pa" gubernatorial campaign last fall, when Wallace was barred by the state constitution from seeking reelection. This time the stand is against federal court orders that school desegregation be speeded up by September in Alabama, where only three percent of Negroes now attend school with white children.

The Wallaces have pledged open defiance, asking the state legislature to turn over the local schools to the governor's office, and for more state troopers. "The reason for our stand," Wallace explains, "is to protect the school system of Alabama and to impress on the people of the country that they are having local control of their schools wrested away from them by the federal courts. This court order would destroy neighborhood schools and compel school busing to achieve racial mixture not just in the South but in all the Northern cities and suburbs. (The court doesn't order busing, but Wallace says it amounts to that.)

Sophisticated Alabamians understand that Wallace's schoolhouse stand is tied in with his presidential campaign, just as they understand that he still governs the state. (The rolling pin on her desk is, like Governor Lurleen herself, only a stage prop.) His campaign director says the latest confrontation will bring more mail, more TV appearances and probably more contribu-

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tions. But when it's *The New York Times* that says Wallace is using the schoolhouse issue for his own political benefit, the 47-year-old former bantamweight boxer gets mad. "*The New York Times* is not always correct in its intellectual moronic conclusions," he says, falling back on one of his pet phrases. "For example, they supported communist Mao Tse-tung over Chiang Kai-shek, and they said Castro was a good man in Cuba. The people of Alabama had instinct enough to tell Castro was a communist just by looking at him."

There's a simplicity here that is reminiscent of Goldwater. But Wallace detects a difference: "The working people don't support Goldwater. They support me."

Wallace attracts many blue collar votes in the North and South, and last time got more than 40 percent of the Negro vote in Alabama. His state program features liberal items like free textbooks, higher welfare and unemployment compensation, and expanded junior colleges and trade schools. Wallace's own beginnings help with workingmen. He can recall plowing behind a mule, working as a truck driver for 30 cents an hour (though he had a law degree), and living with Lurleen and their first child in a converted chicken coop near an air base where he was stationed. He does not appear to be interested in wealth. On the platform, he effectively combines humor, folksiness and stinging attack. He is clumsy at reading a speech, so he sticks to one basic spiel on which he extemporizes. He can be devastating in debate. He is certainly not an intellectual, but he is quick and bright.

His appeal is sectional and ideologically narrow, attracting bigots and malcontents. Among the "dozens" of Wallace-for-President headquarters is the one in Alexandria, Va., which is directed by Karl Allen, a former deputy commander of George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party. Asked if he disavows such support, Wallace says: "I appreciate the support of anyone who believes what I believe. I disavow the support of anyone who advocates violence."

Alabama politicians recall that after his unsuccessful campaign for governor as a racial moderate in 1958, which he lost to John Patterson, Wallace vowed that he would never be "out-segged" again. But when a reporter recently found in the governor's office a book suggesting that Negroes are a high form of ape, Wallace ordered it removed from the premises, and denied having read it.

In the same building as "Wallace Campaign" headquarters in Montgomery, former State Attorney General Richmond Flowers has a law office. Flowers, who ran against the Wallace ticket previously for governor and expects to again in 1970, is one of the few prominent Alabamians to speak out against Wallace loud and clear. "He has illusions of grandeur," Flowers says. "He's talked himself into believing there is a great movement in the country that he has started." But Wallace will run strong for a while "because there is a tremendous backlash in the nation." Then he will drop back, Flowers believes, because "people eventually will see through this defiance of everything."

Thaddeus L. Knap

On the Eve of Balloting in South Korea

Why the Reelection of Park Is Practically Certain

Seoul

The shabbier days when dead men "ran" for the presidency, when students were arrested en masse (and some ended up floating upside down in rivers), when opposition leaders were shot, jailed or exiled, are far from being blotted from memory. Last year, one opposition politico, Su Min-ho, head of the newly formed Democratic Socialist Party, was jailed and, being released, prohibited from engaging in political activities for two years. (He had said that if elected president he would meet at the 38th parallel with North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung to talk about North-South unity.) But chronologically speaking, this happened long before registration opened for the 1967 presidential race. Moreover, Su had dared to discuss unification, and as South Korean Central Intelligence Agency Director Kim Hyung Koo said in mid-1966: "Any person who demands intercourse between South and North Korea shall be severely punished under the Anti-Communist Law as a subversive element who benefits the enemy."

It is virtually impossible – some say impermissible – for the dour, 49-year-old Park Chung-hee not to be reelected President of South Korea on May 3. Park is not beloved. (The "five big evils" for the Koreans are Fire, Flood, Famine, Poverty *and Government.*) But he is pretty much respected, and there is little evidence of popular dissatisfaction.

There have been some cries of corruption. In one instance, an uninhibited Independent member of the National Assembly, angry over a real enough saccharin smuggling operation, and charging cabinet-level collusion, flung a can of human ordure in front of cabinet ministers, shouting: "This is saccharin, eat it!"

Park is expected to defeat easily his strongest rival, Yun Po-sun, an ex-president and leader of the New Democratic Party (NDP) by a much bigger margin than the 150,000-odd votes he attained in 1963. Veteran

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diplomats say that if a major crisis were to erupt – and an opposition victory would likely be deemed a "crisis" by Park's followers – the military could be expected once again to stage a *coup d'état*.

Critics of the Park government claim his Democratic Republican Party (DRP) has in reserve a host of election-rigging devices, including the "sandwich vote" (a pile of unfriendly ballots is placed between "safe" ones and the entire batch recorded as ruling party votes), the "piano vote" (someone spreads inky fingers across unwelcome ballots, rendering them invalid), and the "owl vote" (as ballots are counted after dark, the lights go out and opposition ballots get lost).

The absence of any hotly contested issues is fatal for Yun's party. Another handicap is the presence of at least three "miniature parties" which also are running presidential candidates. Some of these small parties may be government-financed. The dispatch of 45,000 South Korean combat troops to Vietnam produced some fire last year but is a dead letter now. Edinburgh University-educated Yun, 69, says he accepts the troop dispatch as a "fact of life." Although his party denounced the "normalization pact" with Japan, signed in 1965, this also is a dead letter now. Indeed, Yu Chin-o, chairman of the NDP told Japanese visitors recently that his party wanted only to amend some "unequal" clauses in the treaty. Candidate Yun and chairman Yu have criticized the Park administration relatively freely. For example, in March, Yun charged the people were being suppressed by "secret police government, comprador control and privileged *zaibatsus*, and corrupt persons in power." The opposition calls the Park government a "military regime in disguise."

The Korean press, however, has been harassed, and here the Park administration is not without guilt. On Feb. 25 South Korea's CIA entered the offices of the *Choson Ilbo*, a leading Seoul daily, and took four political reporters; forty-eight hours later they were released. Last Dec. 29, the editorial department of the *Tonga Ilbo* in Seoul was raided by a veterans' organization, whose members beat up employees and made a shambles of the office. Police failed to intervene. A newsman from the provincial *Kangwon Ilbo* was beaten and stabbed by "unidentified men in military uniform" the end of last year. The Korean Journalists Association in February raised the question of how much "influence" is exerted upon newsmen who are frequently arrested. The New Democratic Party and the Democratic Socialist Party charged the CIA with "malicious interference in the forthcoming presidential and general elections."

More than $3.5 billion in US economic aid alone has gone into South Korea since 1954. But there is no record that the United States Embassy in Seoul ever voiced any alarm over these violations of press freedom.

Glowing tributes are being paid Korea's improving economy. The nation *is* moving ahead. Its cities wear new faces. Koreans appear to me dressed better and better fed than two years ago. They seem to be self-confident. US aid is slowly but steadily on the decline. American officials say the US share of the South Korean budget dropped from almost 37 percent three years ago, to less than 24 percent last year. Exports have trebled and agricultural production has risen about 40 percent since 1962. Far-sighted tree-planting is under way; a new petrochemical industry is being built; new plants are assembling Japanese cars.

There's another side. Korea's population growth is too high at approximately 2.7 percent; about 15 percent of the labor force is jobless or underemployed; the 600,000-man army is a huge drain on the economy; per capita income is piteously low at about $110 a year. (It takes the average Korean one day's wages to buy a roll of film.) South Korea continues to lean heavily on American food subsidies.

Not a little of the current "new prosperity" is due to the Vietnam war. For instance, exports to South Vietnam in 1966 (jungle boots, cement, explosives, cotton uniforms, steel roofing, etc.) totaled about $14 million. This year, it is estimated, exports to Saigon will be doubled. South Korea has an estimated 10,000 civilians in South Vietnam. These, plus two combat divisions, are paid in US dollars and their remittances to their families or banks back home make this "manpower export" a valuable source of foreign exchange.

Under these conditions many South Korean youths want to go to South Vietnam, though an overwhelming number of draft-age college students opposed the dispatch of troops. As one Korean village leader put it: "Many youths hope to go to Vietnam to earn a lot of money so they will be able to marry fine girls, if only they return home safely." One military officer said if he could return home alive after one year's service in Vietnam he could manage to rent a house in Seoul. The pay for Korean soldiers in South Vietnam has been raised by up to 50 percent.

While hoping for eventual unification, most South Koreans with whom I have spoken still hate their northern brothers – not only because of the Korean War, but because of the frequent and senseless killings along the demilitarized zone (DMZ). Defense Minister Kim Sung Eun told me that China made him a "bit nervous." He challenged reports of friction between Peking and Pyongyang and said that no troop movements were noted along the Yalu River.

I asked Prime Minister Chung Il-kwon, who was born in the north, about the possibilities for unification: "Once we have surpassed North Korea in everything," he said, "we can win over North Korea." US officials say privately that North Korea, with a popu-

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lation less than half that of the South, is economically better off than the South.

Interestingly, there seems little or no chauvinistic impulse among South Koreans. A Korean intellectual was perhaps correct when he said that his country is the "least nationalistic country in Asia." Attitudes toward Japan have not changed perceptibly. The old bias remains, born of years of stringent Japanese occupation. There is no overt hostility toward individual Japanese, but many Koreans worry about too much Japanese economic influence. Thus, Premier Chung told me he would refuse to accept a single Japanese "peace corpsman" if offered. (Japan last year inaugurated an efficient Peace Corps-type volunteer organization and promptly sent many young technical volunteers to developing countries in Asia and Africa.)

To the question – what are 50,000 US soldiers doing in Korea 14 years after the Korean War? – one receives various answers. Defense Minister Kim told me: "If American forces are withdrawn there will be war." A US general said the South Korean army by itself is "more than enough to repel any aggression by North Korea." The "real danger," he thinks, is China. But there are no Chinese troops now in the North, he said. And, of course, if there were any danger, the US never would have asked Seoul to commit two crack Army divisions to Vietnam.

"We could reduce the number of our troops here, but every time we suggest it the Koreans scream," one American official told me. He saw no possibility of evacuating US soldiers from Korea until there is a major thaw in East-West relations. An American diplomat of wide experience in Asia often takes the view that US forces "represent the United Nations. If they leave, it means the UN leaves." This is significant because, according to the Seoul government, Korean unification can be achieved only under a UN-supervised formula, which Pyongyang will not accept. Anyway, since President Park has stated that discussion of unification is prohibited until "the latter part of the 1970s," United States soldiers will remain for at least another decade, some think 20 more years.

I find little trace of anti-Americanism. Nevertheless, incidents involving American GIs continue to jar the Koreans. One which occurred in March was particularly abominable. Some 200 Katusas, or South Korean soldiers attached to US Army units, became enraged and staged a hunger strike. What happened was that a US Army mess sergeant, piqued because he thought the Koreans spread too much jam on their bread, stabbed one Korean in the left eye with a fork, after which he pulled out a pistol and challenged the other Koreans. Memories of such incidents last a lifetime.

Albert Axelbank

Mr. Axelbank has been reporting from Asia for almost a decade and was formerly UPI correspondent in Japan and Taiwan.

The Missing Taxpayers

by Joseph A. Ruskay

When President Johnson in his economic message to Congress in January warned that an increase in income taxes in the form of a six percent surcharge might be necessary later this year, he also mentioned the need for future tax reform. Then in March, in a special message to Congress, the President asked for quick approval of a present to the business and industrial community of over $1 billion over a three-year period in the form of restoring credits for investment in plant and equipment and accelerated depreciation for new buildings. While the House Ways and Means Committee lost little time in approving these tax cuts for business, and even proposed increasing the benefits to an estimated $1.8 billion, experience indicates that it will display considerably less enthusiasm when it comes to tax reforms. The Administration may propose but the Ways and Means Committee disposes; and in the past Congress has been exceedingly cool to proposals for eliminating tax loopholes and special privileges favoring higher income taxpayers.

On the subject of tax reform the President was extremely vague, and the Administration's specific proposals in this area won't be presented for some time. However, recent statements of Secretary of the Treasury Fowler indicate that at most the goal is to obtain congressional approval for some of the relatively mild

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reforms which the Administration requested in 1963 and which Congress turned down, coupled with the elimination of the more flagrant abuses of their tax exemptions by certain private foundations, and that no broad frontal attack on tax loopholes and special privileges, including depletion allowances for the oil and gas industry, is contemplated. Moreover, the President in his economic message stated that tax reform should "proceed independently of the requirements for raising taxes"; and Secretary Fowler, in testifying in February before the House-Senate Joint Economic Committee, said that the major difficulty in relying on a bill to plug tax loopholes in planning fiscal policy is that quick action is often impossible because of the controversial nature of the legislation. "Experience has shown," Mr. Fowler added, "that loophole plugging will be a long and difficult process." Shades of 1963!

Yet the need for thoroughgoing and comprehensive tax reform is imperative. According to Senator Russell B. Long, the Finance Committee chairman, $100 billion of personal income banked last year probably will not be reported on federal tax returns at all. During the 1963 congressional tax hearings Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon, a former member of the Wall Street investment banking fraternity, conceded that the tax laws were riddled with loopholes. Statistics furnished by the Treasury Department underscored this indictment. For example, 20 people with annual incomes of over a half-million dollars, five of whom had incomes of over $5 million each, paid no federal income tax whatsoever; taxpayers with annual incomes of between $1 million and $5 million who did pay income taxes, paid not at the high and so-called "confiscatory" rates complained of by advocates of tax reduction, but at an effective rate of about 24 percent, a rate paid by persons with only a small fraction of such incomes; some $12-$13 billion every year of unrealized appreciation in value of stocks, real estate and other property transferred by death or by gift completely escaped income taxation; and over $3 billion of income every year was free of tax because of depletion allowances permitted the oil and gas, coal mining and other extractive industries. At the same time, a wage earner making $100 a week, with a wife and two children to support, was paying an annual income tax of about $486.

Reform Tomorrow, But Never Today

The situation is no different today. If anything, comparable current Treasury Department data would probably be even more shocking since the number of persons with million-dollar incomes and large fortunes has been rapidly increasing. In a recent address before the Kentucky Chamber of Commerce, Secretary Fowler understated the case when he confessed that there are "inequities and economic distortions which arise from provisions of our tax laws which, however justified at the time of their enactment, have become subject to certain abuses." Instead of an across-the-board six percent tax increase which will be felt most severely by the 95 percent of taxpayers in the lower- and middle-income groups, it is time that the Administration and Congress did away with the innumerable special privileges that unfairly favor the wealthier segments of the population.

One "escape hatch," as former Secretary Dillon put it, "by which our wealthier taxpayers can avoid all taxation on substantial amounts of capital gains" results from the fact that unrealized appreciation in the value of securities, real estate and other property passing to heirs upon death or by gift is free from the payment of any income tax or capital gains tax whatsoever. Thus a man who has at one time or another bought stocks which cost him $25,000, and holds on to them until he dies, by which time their value has increased to $200,000, escapes payment of all income or capital gains tax on this increased value; and so do his heirs, who may sell the securities for $200,000 without paying a penny of tax. (By contrast, an individual who spends years accumulating a $200,000 estate by savings from his salary, dividends or profits from a business, pays an income tax on all this income as it is received; and if he sells his business or securities before he dies he is obliged to pay an additional capital gains tax on the profit.) In this manner, the Treasury Department has estimated, some $12-$13 billion, and probably considerably more, of unrealized appreciation in securities, real estate and other property completely escapes income taxation every year, either in the hands of the original owner or his heirs. In situations such as the above, a capital gains tax should be imposed at the time of death or gift on the $175,000 increase in value, with any inheritance tax being deducted from the capital gains realized. At the very least, the heirs of the original owner, or the recipient of his gift, should be required to pay a capital gains tax on the profit when they sell the property.

Another tax loophole (Paul Douglas called them "truck holes") is the so-called "unlimited charitable deduction." It enables many persons with millions of dollars in taxable income by way of dividends, interest, executive salaries, or capital gains to escape taxation by giving to charitable institutions securities or other property which have enormously appreciated in value. At the 1963 congressional tax hearings the Treasury disclosed that 14 taxpayers, several with incomes as high as $20 million over a three-year period, and one with a $50 million income over that period, were able to avoid the payment of $15.7 million in taxes as a

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result of this special privilege. They saved on the average $1.1 million in taxes by giving to charity property which was worth about 33 times its original cost. While the unlimited charitable deduction may be a fine thing for charity, Secretary Dillon told Congress, "it is fundamental to a tax system that rests on ability to pay that those who can do so contribute their fair share to the cost of the government."

Incentives for Executives

Then there is the so-called stock option, the advantage of which is enjoyed for the most part by highly paid corporate executives. Under a typical qualified stock option plan corporate executives are given options to purchase, at the market price, large blocks of their corporation's shares. They pay nothing for these options which are generally good for five years. If thereafter the market price of the stock rises, they can exercise their options and purchase the stock at the original option price, giving them paper profits which have cost them nothing and on which they pay no tax. If after holding the stock for three years they wish to sell it, they pay a tax on their profits, not at the regular income tax rates applicable to high income taxpayers, but at a maximum rate of 25 percent. Top executives of large publicly owned corporations have in recent years made hundreds of millions of dollars of profits on which, if they continued to hold the stock, they paid no tax at all; or on which they have paid at the lower capital gain rate to the extent that the stock has been sold.

Realistically, the profits made by corporation executives through stock options are compensation and should be taxed at regular tax rates, just as other taxpayers – salaried employees, teachers, members of the professions and businessmen – are taxed on the compensation they receive. It is claimed that this favored tax treatment for stock options provides an incentive to greater fidelity and diligence on the part of executives, and results in increased corporate earnings. But at the hearings on the 1963 tax bill, where an unsuccessful attempt was made to eliminate the stock option loophole, it was shown that this so-called incentive rationale was largely fictitious, and that stock options were costly to the corporations granting them and unfair to the public shareholders whose equity they diluted. The editor of the prestigious *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* went so far as to tell the House Ways and Means Committee that a stock option was nothing but "a free stock market ride without risk of loss that has nothing to do with management effort."

Of all the loopholes favoring special groups the tax treatment of the oil and gas companies is the most notorious. They are not only permitted to reduce their tax liabilities by rapid write-offs of drilling and development and other costs, but enjoy a "depletion allowance," under which 27.5 percent of their gross income, up to 50 percent of their net income, is exempt from taxation. The deductions allowed oil and gas companies for depletion have no limit. But this is not all. The Treasury admits that, due to the loosely written provisions of the law, oil and gas companies are able to further minimize their tax payments by taking deductions for depletion *in excess* of the 50 percent of net income limitation originally intended as a ceiling. Treasury data at the 1963 tax hearings disclosed that the mineral industry was getting the benefit of $3.3-billion for depletion every year, of which $2.2 billion was allowed to oil and gas companies; and that the government was losing about $1.5 billion a year in revenue as a result. A number of major oil companies were paying no income taxes at all; and one company with a net income of $65 million over a five-year period not only paid no income tax but received a $235,000 tax refund on losses incurred in a previous year!

This extraordinary beneficence is defended by industry representatives on the spurious theory that oil and gas are wasting natural resources; and that these unique tax advantages are necessary to encourage continued exploration and discovery of new reserves. However, Senator Gore of Tennessee has pointed out that this privilege permitted the oil and gas industry has no relationship whatsoever to depletion of a natural resource, but continues on and on *ad infinitum* whether the resource is depleted or is augmented. When Pete Retzlaff, president of the National Football League Players Association, appeared before the Senate Finance Committee he pleaded for some sort of tax relief for the professional athlete "who depletes his natural resources of physical ability and muscular strength" during the few years when he earns a high income on which he is heavily taxed. Senator Douglas sympathized, pointing out that logically professional athletes should get the benefit of a depletion allowance, no less than "oil, gas, sulphur, coal, iron ore, clam shells, oyster shells, sand and gravel." Moreover, the senator conceded, what the athletes were asking by way of tax relief was modest compared to the 27.5 percent depletion deduction allowed without limit to oil and gas producers so long as oil and gas keeps flowing. The trouble, however, was that if tax relief because of the depletion of their natural abilities was permitted to athletes, the same privileges would have to be extended to movie actors, TV performers, poets and so forth.

"Poets," observed Senator Douglas, "are in much the same position. Poetic impulse develops early in life, and then there are very few poets who write good poetry after the age of 40. It is part of the ebullience

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of youth, so to speak. Shouldn't they receive a depreciation allowance for the wasting away of their poetic inspiration?"

Senator Carlson, joining in the fun, suggested that United States senators should perhaps be included.

"This might be a good idea," replied Senator Douglas, "but we will be suspected of enacting class legislation and conflicts of interest. As a matter of fact, frequently the earning power of a United States senator increases after he is defeated because then he can become a lobbyist."

The complete exemption from tax of income received on federal and local bonds is another major loophole. Untold billions of dollars worth of these bonds, which bear interest rates from about 2 1/2 percent to 4 3/4 percent are held almost exclusively by the wealthy, who by investing large sums in these securities obtain large tax-free incomes, which they would not be able to do if the same funds had been invested in stocks or other property, the income of which would be taxable to them at rates up to 70 percent. It is claimed that this exemption enables state and local governments, school district authorities and the like to borrow vast sums at lower interest rates than they would have to pay if the interest on their bonds were not exempt from tax. But these savings to the state and local governments are substantially less than the cost to the general body of taxpayers, who have to make up with their taxes the revenue which the government loses. Furthermore it is highly inequitable that one man with a portfolio of $2 million in tax-exempt bonds should derive an annual income of $60,000 to $80,000 wholly free of tax, while his neighbor, who receives the same income from salary, dividends or earnings in his business, is obliged to pay perhaps $20,000-$30,000, or even more of it to the government in taxes.

Something Can Be Done

The solution is to abolish the exempt status of state and local bonds entirely, and to provide state and local authorities with funds from the federal government, to which all taxpayers contribute, as assistance in meeting the increased cost of their borrowings. At the very least there should be some dollar limit on the amount of interest on state and local bonds that wealthy taxpayers may treat as tax free.

Dozens of other loopholes could be mentioned. For example coal mining, timber, iron ore royalties, large lump sum payments from pensions, profit sharing and stock bonus plans and many other sources of income are taxed at the more favorable capital gain rates rather than at ordinary income rates. The activities of certain private charitable foundations which have abused their tax-exempt status has been the subject of an investigation by a subcommittee of the House Select Committee on Small Business under the leadership of Representative Wright Patman. While some of the worst abuses have been corrected in such areas as group term life insurance, the use of personal holding companies and real estate corporations as tax shelters, and the gimmick of multiple corporate surtax exemptions, are still available.

Congressional opposition to proposals for tax reform is proverbial. When the Kennedy Administration proposed a substantial cut in corporate and individual taxes combined with a very mild dose of tax reforms, Congress bought the tax cut but rejected most of the reforms. The lengthy hearings before the House Ways and Means and the Senate Finance Committees were dominated by witnesses from the oil and gas industry, the stock exchanges, real estate, coal mining, timber companies, and other interests. Members of the House and Senate, who urged an overhaul of the tax structure and loophole elimination were voices crying in the wilderness. When George Meany had the temerity to tell the House committee that it ought not only plug up the loopholes which favored wealthier taxpayers, but should grant additional relief to the lower income groups by increasing personal exemptions and credits for dependents, Representative Utt of California suggested that Meany was promoting the doctrines of Marx and Engels, and declared that "the graduated income tax is probably the greatest weapon in the hands of the socialists directed at the heart of capitalism."

Today the prospect of achieving a more equitable tax structure is dimmer than ever. There may be a little chipping away at abuses – the elimination of loopholes within the loopholes, so to speak – but the closing of major loopholes is not likely. Somehow or other, when it comes to membership on the House Ways and Means and Senate Finance Committees, which effectively control tax legislation, the bulk of the assignments always goes to tax conservatives. The public is poorly informed on tax matters and is baffled by the complexities and technicalities of tax legislation; whereas the tax experts representing special interests know how to take advantage of every loophole.

Our tax structure belies the pretensions of the Great Society. It is not progressive, based on the ability to pay, since too great a burden is borne by the lower income groups, especially when the regressive effects of state and local sales taxes are taken into account. The innumerable loopholes and exceptions benefiting the wealthy, and the discrepancy between the taxes paid by various privileged groups and other taxpayers creates a situation so basically unfair that, in the words of former Senator Douglas, "It threatens to destroy people's faith in government and in the democratic system."

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Our "Larger than Life" President

A Democrat Looks (Askance) at His Party

by a Subscriber

Too bad. Here I thought TRB had almost cured himself of his confessed "ambivalence" on LBJ. But the April 8th *New Republic* shows I was too optimistic. From my viewpoint, he completely misjudges what has happened to America under the reign of Lyndon the First.

In the same issue in which TRB admitted this ambivalence – such a nice fuzzy word – *The New Republic* ran a short letter that contained the harsh and incontrovertible truth: that Johnson's ruthless conduct of the billions-unlimited Vietnam war has so overshadowed his liberal domestic legislation as to render it virtually negligible.

I have been aboard this globe for 77 years, my wife seven years less. For the first time, we are ashamed of our country.

TRB can't understand why intellectuals lavish on Johnson such intense dislike. "This isn't contempt, this is fear and hatred," he writes. This family feels all three. Whether we could be called intellectuals is doubtful. I was a newspaperman for 50 years. My wife obtained a master's degree in astronomy at Cal – there was only one Cal in those pre-beatnik days in Berkeley.

Isn't it passing strange that the ace columnist of *The New Republic* should attack intellectuals in an attempt to justify his confusion about a man hated by liberals around the world, even by large numbers in the countries of our Vietnam allies? And I'm sure TRB will agree that not all the protesters are communist.

Sure, there were vicious attacks on FDR, but not by intellectuals, if my memory is correct. (Could he have been thinking about Raymond Moley?) Teddy was attacked by the "malefactors of great wealth" that he attacked but not, I believe, by many idealists. Of course, there was the Panama Canal grab.

We loved FDR, though we acknowledged he made some mistakes. We loved Harry Truman, endured Eisenhower without any deep pain. JFK we viewed with ever-increasing delight. We thought LBJ did very well until he tackled Vietnam. So it isn't any personal prejudice.

It is true that much of the left-wing criticism of Johnson is rude and crude. It is a measure of what the Vietnam policy has done to this family that we got some laughs from *MacBird*.

We are neither doctrinaire pacifists, nor pro-communist. We are veterans of World War I – land-navy, definitely non-heroic, though my wife dropped out of her astronomy course to become a yeomanette. That would be a Wave now. Her father was a fugitive from German militarism.

We were in the "eye of the hurricane" during the birth struggle of the Newspaper Guild. We learned about Marx-Engels the hard way. Never again could we feel the lure of dialectical materialism. But we emerged liberal and labor. We were outraged by McCarthyism. Now we find an American President using ultra-McCarthyism to commit one of the most horrible and unjustified crimes in history.

Yet TRB tells us of – and apparently shares – a "grudging admiration among our colleagues" for the "so wanting to be loved" President. He vows immense admiration for Walter Lippmann, yet takes potshots at the wise and courageous writer, whose advice, if taken, would have saved America from the purgatory in which it now flounders. Pertinently, Lippmann just the other day disproved a Johnson charge that Lippmann had opposed Marshall Plan aid to Greece and Turkey. Lippmann reprinted his column of the time showing he approved of such aid but opposed widening of the policy to include Asia and the rest of the globe. It was just one of countless falsehoods and distortions by Johnson to justify his Vietnam policy. That is the kind of thing that shocks intellectuals.

Most of the "true bills" in my indictment of LBJ have been cited in *The New Republic* – many of them by TRB himself. Yet he seems to have absorbed that "consensus fever." He has to soften every blow with a pat on the back. Johnson can't be all wrong, he says, because he vetoed an execrable act on government of the District of Columbia. And he reintroduced an "open housing" bill in spite of its defeat in the "Johnson" Congress. TRB seems to think that was political courage. Nonsense. It is perfectly apparent that Johnson wants to cling to a liberal label no matter what

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he does to destroy the liberals. Other columnists dismiss the new "open housing" measure as "just ritual." Johnson didn't fight very hard for the one in his "own" Congress.

Johnson's Vietnam policy has been one deliberate fraud after another. He was in the White House a year before he began his elected term yet he took no action to escalate the war. In that time, the integration of the Viet Cong with the peasant population continued, making bombing impossible without killing countless civilians. Certainly in his campaign against Goldwater he hinted at no escalation. He attacked the "irresponsible" proposals of his adversary. Yet he has adopted every Goldwater idea except "tactical" A-bombs. If he gets us in a war with China, who knows what can happen.

Arnold Toynbee, starting a course of lectures at Stanford last week, warned that the entire process of democracy is being imperiled by Johnson's political machinations. He called the President a "tragic figure" but made it clear that the real tragedy was what he is doing to his country and the world. LBJ's "face-saving" obsession was stressed. Johnson is the kind of man whose "face-saving" could end the world.

Something New Has Been Added

My last 13 years on daily papers were spent editing international news for the Scripps-Howard *San Francisco News*, now laid to rest. I was "war editor" during World War II and the Korean War. Also a correspondent for OWI. That doesn't make me an expert, but at least my mind is not a blank on world affairs.

I have approved every previous American war of my lifetime, though I was too young to appreciate the role of a certain publisher during the Spanish-American affair.

On Vietnam, I was quite aware that it was politically impossible for the United States just to withdraw. I expected a kind of "kick and wait for the breaks" policy, like old-time football. The enclave idea would have satisfied me.

Johnson's escalation has cost the lives of "more than a quarter of a million children," according to an estimate in the current edition of *Look*. More than a million, it estimates, have been wounded. With few exceptions, these were victims of American bombs. No one has tried to count the number of adult civilian victims.

Yet TRB is concerned about "this larger-than-life man, so hard-working, so wanting to be loved, so unpopular."

The civil rights movement, which appeared so bright a hope, is practically dead, according to its leading advocates. The government of Alabama is in outright revolt against the American Constitution. Other Southern states could hardly be called "friendly." Only in Vietnam does Johnson worry about democracy.

TRB admits all this, yet somehow he fails to charge it to the only man responsible for it under our Constitution.

The most unreconstructed of the segregationists have come back to power as chairmen of "war" committees. Stennis, Ellender, all the rest – you name them – call for more and more bombs. Wipe out North Vietnam, demands Stennis. All of that gang are happy as clams. Why not? All the pressure is taken off the fight for equality at home. Johnson relishes their support. At least he has uttered no word of criticism of them. Ah, yes, so "larger than life."

Along last fall, the failure to support civil rights laws was widely remarked. When little Negro kids were beaten by Mississippi "white savages" for going to a white school, Mr. Johnson calmly pressed for "consensus" with the ruling powers there.

When Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach made an attempt to enforce some of the laws, he was reviled personally by the segregationists. Johnson rushed to his rescue, transferring him to chief yes man for the chief Administration hawk, Dean Rusk. The country was left without an attorney general with full powers. Ramsey Clark, as acting head, did not rock the boat. So finally he got the job and emphasized war on trusts and other economic issues, with little attention to civil rights.

A few days ago, he did make a speech on civil rights to a congressional committee. David Brinkley interpreted it as confirmation that the civil rights movement was indeed dead.

Only a couple of weeks before the November election, with his domestic program already in disarray, Johnson deserted his party and his people to get himself crowned Lord High Pooh-Bah of the Far East. We watched on TV as Lyndon danced, pranced and "pressed the flesh" on his Asian course, pouring out commitment after commitment as he had done previously at Honolulu. Without any congressional authority whatsoever, he pledged that American boys would go forth to die to maintain the status quo throughout the ancient lands, most of them military dictatorships, drenched in corruption and immorality.

TRB does not have to be reminded of the hassle that followed the return home. TRB and his colleagues know that Johnson lied when he declared he never had indicated he would make a trip to help out his beleaguered fellow Democrats in the election. (Pat Brown knew, of course, that LBJ couldn't help in California anyway.) The monumental Democratic defeat that followed was shrugged off by TRB as just a normal turnover in an off year, though the loss of 47 Democratic

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congressmen far exceeded the most optimistic of Republican hopes.

The frauds and distortions go on and on, while more and more diabolical weapons are used against the Vietnamese. Quakers returning from Hanoi tell of examining victims of "anti-personnel" mines. The Pentagon happily responds that, of course, we have been using the clusters right along. Reportedly, TRB's colleagues knew about it, but the Pentagon never admitted it before.

The Pentagon says that it has to bomb villages that have antiaircraft bases. The greatest crime in the Pentagon ethics book seems to be for any people to try to defend themselves against our bombs. Antipersonnel bombs are intended to, and do, mean more villagers killed or hopelessly maimed. That's just fine with the Pentagon.

Oh, yes, Johnson wept the other day when he visited an American triple amputee. But he wastes no sympathy on the thousands of amputees caused by our bombs, among the communist-led forces.

The most basic fraud of all by our propagandists is doubtless the Administration claim that if we do not stop the communists in Vietnam, they'll be pouring down our main streets. When this absurdity was first heard here – from a Hells Angel as his excuse for attacking an antiwar marcher in Berkeley – it brought mostly jeers of derision. But a few weeks later, Johnson was uttering the same nonsense.

Soon after this "invasion scare," the Huntley-Brinkley Report showed a scene at Fort Ord where GIs were being indoctrinated. They were fed that same propaganda in giant doses, with bows to Johnson at every turn of the screw. The TV showed interviews with a half-dozen GIs – carefully selected black and white. All averred that *now* they know why the communists must be beaten in Vietnam – to save their family firesides, or cookouts, as the case might be.

What our Seventh Fleet would be doing all this time is never mentioned. McNamara has stated that we have the power to defend both our European and Pacific fronts at the same time, hardly raising a sweat. But the Administration long ago parted ways with consistency.

What's Left of the Democrats?

The two billions a month we are spending in Vietnam bids fair to rise astronomically, since General Westmoreland is reported asking for another division at once to counter new communist strategy in the Chu-Lai area. No wonder Johnson's "Great Society" with its antipoverty program is gasping for life.

In California, the Democratic Party is a shambles – and the chief agent of the rift is Vietnam. I voted the straight Democratic ticket in November despite my loss of enthusiasm for Pat Brown. But labor abandoned Brown in droves, including our area of the East Bay.

As in other parts of the country, Johnson's tactics have stripped California of effective liberal Democratic leaders. The president pro tem of the still just barely Democratic Senate authored a bill to repeal the Rumford Fair Housing Act. It passed in the Senate. There is hope, however, that it may die in assembly committee. Reagan, of course, is all out for repeal.

The Senate President is head of the California committee on un-American activities. It is without any principles whatever, leveling horrific charges without a hearing. And Reagan is pursuing a course so downright reactionary, so inhumane, that it has brought dissent from some leaders of his own party, especially on his plan to cut 3,600 employees at state mental hospitals. But with Democratic leaders so lacking, Reagan seems certain to go rollicking along as a large factor in the '68 Republican convention.

We feel so strongly about Johnson that we want him out of the White House no matter who succeeds him. We would gamble on the belief that a new man would be incapable of the sinister cunning by which Johnson has duped the American people.

All the long-time liberals I know – not many, I've outlived most – feel about that way. Without exception they turn thumbs down on Humphrey. There isn't much enthusiasm for Bobby. My wife and I greatly admire Fulbright and we were impressed by Senator Church's rational stand in regard to post-colonialism at the hearings. But, of course, their national leadership possibilities are small. Church faces a tough struggle for reelection, hog-tied by Johnson's unpopularity.

James Reston, in a recent column, "wagered a plugged nickel" on Republican nomination of Nelson Rockefeller. If that should prove true, he probably will get two votes from this family. At least, he is a civilized person who knows about world affairs. But in *Newsweek*, just arrived, Emmet John Hughes says Rockefeller doesn't have a chance.

I have started to write this several times in recent months, but gave up with a "what the hell?" Once was when TRB wrote: "Mr. Johnson may be wrong, but he is as patriotic as the next man." Of course, Johnson thinks what he is doing is for the best interests of his country. So did Hitler and Mussolini.

Now all my gloomy thoughts come out at once. Omit my name. My days of public controversy are over. We live in a large apartment complex for folks over 50. In the clubhouse, where social affairs and entertainment are held, I have never heard Vietnam mentioned. It "just isn't done."

But only a few miles away there is an around-the-clock vigil at a napalm shipping point.

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STANLEY KAUFFMANN *Mind Over Matter*

Here comes Lewis Mumford again, sailing majestically down the river of time. Having illuminated the history of architecture and the phenomenon of cities (among other subjects) on previous voyages, he makes the journey once again out of different scholarly and humane concerns. Let him describe his new book* himself. He wrote a sort of overture to it in a recent issue of the *American Scholar*, in which he said:

> "Modern man has formed a curiously distorted picture of himself by interpreting his early history in terms of his present interests in making machines and conquering nature. . . . I have found it necessary as a generalist to challenge this narrow view. There is sound reason to believe that man's brain was from the beginning far more important than his hands . . . that ritual and language and social organization, which left no material traces whatever, were probably man's most important artifacts from the earliest stages on; and that . . . primitive man's first concern was . . . to give form to a human self, set apart from his original animal self by the fabrication of symbols – the only tools that could be constructed out of the resources provided by his own body: dreams, images and sounds."

The first third of the book is mainly devoted to all the self-discoveries that man made *before* he made tools: discoveries that – as Mumford demonstrates fascinatingly, even thrillingly – had to precede the invention of tools. Commenting on the chronology implicit in most museum displays, he says that collections of such devices as flint arrowheads and knives distort the scale of progress. "If each foot represented a year, these improvements would have to be strung along a distance of roughly ninety miles, of which only the last five or ten miles would denote a period of rapid advance." The great precedent period, a period more consistently fertile in advances, was that of man's discovery and investigation of "the domain of significance." Other animals shared some of man's discoveries and contrivances, but "here and here alone man reigned supreme." Or as Jacquetta Hawkes put it in her *Prehistory:*

> "Nothing has greater significance than the development and exercise of the combined mental powers of intellect and imagination, the two springs of human greatness. This must be the estimate of the humanist; if it were added that it is through these gifts that God has made us aware of divinity, then there are few people who would challenge it."

The intellectual and imaginative miracles of prehistoric man are Mumford's first concern. "No modern technological device surpasses in its articulation of its parts or its functional fitness the qualities of the least important language"; and language was developed long before history began. Again, if the term "invention" can be applied to plant hybridism and refinement as well as to mechanical appliances, then, says Mumford, "Infinitely more was accomplished in this line of inventions in the five thousand years before the Bronze Age than has been achieved by civilization in an equivalent period since."

On mechanical devices themselves "The fact is that most of the components of later complex machines were either invented by the Greeks, between the seventh and the first centuries B.C., or were manufactured with the aid of machines and mechanical parts the Greeks first invented." He lists a number of inventions, quintessential to our own lives, that not only predate the Christian era but in substantial part predate history. And he cites the anomaly of disappearance. For example, he notes that glass, which existed before the end of the first century B.C., virtually disappeared; became a rarity in Rome and throughout Europe until after the 16th century A.D. In sculpture he notes: "Some of the earliest paleolithic art is more accomplished, both technically and esthetically, than comparable images done tens of thousands of years later in Azilian, Halafian, or Cycladic cultures." On a smaller time scale, I can remember wondering, while looking at Pompeian murals, why the laws of perspective had to be rediscovered 1,400 years later.

In the quotations above, I have skipped back and forth over the millenniums to convey Mumford's basic view – which is not one of ancestor worship but of the primacy of unique human values in prehistory and of the continuity of those values. After he has established the priority of human imagination and self-investigation over mechanical invention; after he has investigated the subsequent but still very early mechanical ingenuity of man, then Mumford considers the emergence and mythology of the machine. He postulates that the first machine was human – the impressment and coordination of mass labor:

> "If a machine be defined, more or less in accord with the classic definition of Franz Reuleaux, as a combination of resistant parts, each specialized in function, operating under human control, to utilize energy and to perform work, then the great labor machine was in every respect a genuine machine; all the more because its components, though made of human bone, nerve, and muscle, were reduced to their bare mechanical elements and rigidly standardized for the performance of their limited tasks. . . . Such machines had already been assembled if not invented by kings in the early part of the Pyramid Age, from the end of the Fourth Millennium on."

He shows the relation of the idea of kingship to the emergence of the machine; how kingship itself derived from religious concepts and priestly hierarchy; and how the introduction of the machine – which he calls the megamachine, the Big Machine – polarized

(Continued on page 29)

* *The Myth of the Machine* by Lewis Mumford (Harcourt, Brace and World; $8.95)

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Maverick Historian

by Melvin Shefftz

A. J. P. Taylor, England's maverick historian, is a versatile and productive craftsman. For the scholarly world he has written *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918* and *English History 1914-1945*, both long volumes with extensive bibliographies. For the popular audience he writes for the *Sunday Express* and lectures on British television. In the middle range he reviews

From Sarajevo to Potsdam
by A. J. P. Taylor
(Harcourt, Brace and World; $5.50)

books for almost every issue of the prestigious British weeklies, the *New Statesman* and the *Sunday Observer*, and has written *Bismarck: The Man and Statesman, The Trouble Makers, The First World War, an Illustrated History*, and *The Origins of the Second World War* – all lively and contentious books which have attracted large numbers of readers (large for serious works of history) while also provoking some of his more sober colleagues to attack him as flippant and irresponsible.

Taylor's latest book, *From Sarajevo to Potsdam*, is one of his middle-range products. It is a 198-page illustrated essay on the history of Europe from 1914 to 1945. Without the pictures (all of them quite good), the text would probably run only about 140 pages. Still, this is not a pseudo book for the gift trade. It is a good contribution to an interesting new series, History of European Civilization Library, which promises a broad treatment of European history cutting across national lines and fields of specialization. Taylor, in following these guidelines, has written a book which is both an excellent introduction for the beginner and a stimulating interpretative essay for the reader who already knows a great deal about the subject. Taylor's efficient prose and skillful organization enable him both to describe the main developments and to comment fully on them without making this short book seem either cluttered or hurried.

From Sarajevo to Potsdam has in full the strong qualities which mark all of Taylor's writings. He characterizes complex men and sums up confusing situations in a few vivid and economical lines. He brings to bear on virtually everything he touches an extraordinary range of knowledge. He is destructively witty without becoming (like Malcolm Muggeridge) a clowning cynic. *From Sarajevo to Potsdam* is short of heroes. "I have little respect for men in positions of power," Taylor has written in a preface to a collection of his essays, "though no doubt I should not do better in their place." Though written for a large audience, this book is not an easy popular history in the manner of Cornelius Ryan or Barbara Tuchman, writers who in Taylor's eyes produce not history, but "the patchwork quilt of brilliant colors." This is narrative history of a rigorously analytic type. Taylor does not provide lively anecdotes and dramatic incidents to generate excitement. The excitement all comes from the work of a vigorous and unconventional mind working to understand history.

In one respect, *From Savajevo to Potsdam* differs from all but one of his other books. Until recently Taylor wrote almost exclusively on politics, diplomacy, and war, the typical concerns of the traditional, academic 19th-century historian. He first broke from this pattern in 1965 with his *English History 1914-1945* in which he surprised many of his readers by writing knowingly not only on economic problems but on such diverse subjects as the impact of films and contraceptives on English life. *From Sarajevo to Potsdam* begins with a description of European civilization in 1914 and then shows what has changed and what has remained the same. Along the way, he writes briefly, but effectively of economics, class structure, mass psychology, architecture, family life, dress, meals, art, music, literature, and the automobile. All this is beautifully integrated with the political narrative.

Even historians who admire Taylor for his many skills have often criticized him for making sweeping and provocative assertions on complicated and unsettled questions. The irresponsible streak comes out in this latest book only when he deals with Franklin D. Roosevelt: "So far as it is possible to read his devious mind, it appears that he expected the British to wear down both Germany and themselves." So he writes of Roosevelt's foreign policy in 1940 and 1941. His evaluation of FDR's policy after the United States had entered the war is equally harsh: "His own device of a United Nations was little more than a cloak for a world directorate run by the United States and its humble satellite, Great Britain." These judgments are dubious, and Taylor provides no evidence for them. But the Taylor style at its best abounds in paradoxes which at first startle and then convince. Here is Taylor on the causes of World War I: "Men had, of course, debated everywhere what their country could gain if war came, and perhaps the Germans had debated a bit more than others. But in August 1914 the aim of the Germans and of everyone else was victory for its own sake. The war aims

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He wants her to take him back

How we saw "Red"

AMERICANS AND THE SOVIET EXPERIMENT 1917-1933

By Peter G. Filene

In the sixteen eventful years between the Bolshevik February Revolution and Roosevelt's recognition of the Soviet regime, Americans viewed the "Red experiment" with mixed emotions. By turns confused, fearful, fascinated, agitated, curious, complacent, anxious, admiring, outraged, even envious and hysterical – but never bored – businessmen and educators, clergymen and labor leaders, reactionaries and radicals compared and contrasted American and Russian achievements. In a constantly engrossing story, Mr. Filene uncovers much about how attitudes are formed and how they produce opinions, and about how Americans saw – and see – democracy, capitalism, and themselves. Illustrated. $7.95

ALIENS AND DISSENTERS: *Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933.* William Preston, Jr. Foreword by Oscar Handlin. "Important . . . focuses attention on an antidemocratic tradition that many complacent Americans tend to overlook . . . a standard work in the history of civil rights." – *American Historical Review.* Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America. $6.75

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were worked out only after fighting had started." Also illuminating is this paragraph:

> "Hitler's invasion of Russia ought to have made sense as a culminating point in European civilization. Civilized Europeans, particularly elderly Europeans from the richer classes, had been clamoring for two things ever since the First World War: one was European unity, the other was an attack by civilized capitalist Europe on Bolshevik Russia. In 1941 Hitler gave civilized Europeans what they had wanted. Yet everything had worked out wrong . . . most Europeans outside Germany and nearly all who were on the side of freedom actually wanted Soviet Russia to win. This was an extraordinary transformation."

From Sarajevo to Potsdam helps clear up some of the confusions created by Taylor's controversial *Origins of World War II*, in which he sought mostly to explain the policies of the French and the British. He devoted little space to Hitler's motives and described Hitler, when he dealt with him, as acting in the diplomatic arena very much as a traditional German statesman working to undo the Versailles treaties. Taylor was so interested in emphasizing the continuities in German foreign policy that in one sense one can accept his later statement that the book "has really little to do with Hitler." Many in America and in England and apparently even in Germany have read *The Origins of World War II* mistakenly as a defense of Hitler and of Germany, which is ironic since Taylor in two of his earliest books, the brilliant survey histories, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1809-1918* and *The Course of German History*, shows a marked anti-German bias. In effect, Taylor, by de-emphasizing the role of Hitler, was putting Germany itself back on the stage of history. He believes that wars are, in large part, the result of miscalculations and not the result of deliberate, carefully thought out plans. Hitler, according to Taylor, started a war with Poland, but blundered into war with France and England.

In *From Sarajevo to Potsdam*, Taylor deals with the subject he ignored as irrelevant in *The Origins of World War II* – Hitler's racial policies: "His mind was a junk store of tired second-rate ideas, which he revived by his intense belief in them." Hitler was not a demonic force, "not a barbarian like Attila, breaking into a civilized Europe." The measures which he carried through "were logical conclusions from what had been, in the 19th century, respectable academic doctrines. Almost every historian and sociologist then talked about superior and inferior races. Add to this the idea of directing events instead of letting them happen – an idea held by many socialists and applied in the Soviet five-year plan; transfer it from economics to racialism; and Hitler's New Order was the result." Hitler differed from other racists in that he was more brutal and more literal:

> "Where others talked of eliminating Jewish influence from political or cultural life, without any clear idea of what they meant, Hitler saw the answer in precise terms of physical destruction. . . . The war itself pushed Hitler's logic on. The superior races were killing each other, or preparing to do so. The balance should be kept even by killing off the inferior races as well. From start to finish Hitler was a distorting mirror held up to European civilization. In the first months of the war, the policy of extermination was not yet fully worked out or fully applied; but its principles had been established and as Hitler's power over Europe increased, his eagerness to alter the European balance of populations increased also, particularly to the detriment of the Jews."

As in World War I, Taylor suggests that the war itself helped create German war aims. Of course, *Mein Kampf* had been written long before, but *Mein Kampf*, Taylor has argued, was a daydream, not an operative plan. But German victories of a startling and unexpected speed and completeness gave him that total power over much of Europe which enabled him, perhaps even to his own surprise, to translate what had been his daydreams into unexpected reality. The dispute between Taylor and most other

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historians is over this point. To Taylor, the ideas of *Mein Kampf* have nothing, or at any rate very little, to do with the outbreak of World War II. These racial ideas can be used only to explain a related but different development – the brutal use which the Germans made of the temporary hegemony that war brought them for a few horrible years. The special German sin, according to Taylor, is not that she has sought to dominate Europe, but that she has exercised that domination so brutally: "Every civilization has its characteristic monuments: Rome had the gladitorial arenas, the Middle Ages had cathedrals, the 19th century had factories and railway stations. The monument of German civilization was the death camp of Auschwitz."

The history of Europe from 1914 to 1945 has been grim, yet Taylor can see achievement as well as destruction. His tale of massacre ends on a note of cheer:

> "This was the great paradox in the thirty years between Sarajevo and Potsdam. Europe had two long wars, the most devastating in her history. . . . No wars have ever been conducted with such solid popular backing. . . . Yet Europeans remained almost unaffected by this wild race to destruction. . . . The lasting achievements of this European civilization were in peace as much as in war. Tanks were one of its symbols; but so, also were the motor-cars which filled the roads every week end. Millions of dead were one symbol. Millions of lives saved, millions of people living healthier lives, were another. More houses were destroyed and more new houses were built than in the whole of previous history. . . . Europe was supposed to have lost its hegemony in the world. Yet there was no part of the world which did not become European or at any rate aspire to do so. . . . Civilization had once been the property of a few: now it was claimed by all. Time alone will tell whether the claim can be satisfied. At any rate, it was Europe's legacy to the world, and only civilizations of a European pattern can fulfill it."

FIRST I TURN TO STEPHANIE HARRINGTON, SALLY KEMPTON, AND SUSAN BROWNMILLER TO FIND OUT WHAT'S NEW WITH POP CAMP, AND THE WOMEN'S HOUSE OF DETENTION. THEN I TURN TO BARBARA LONG FOR THE LATEST IN SPORTS. AFTER THAT I SWITCH TO THE **CULTURAL** SECTION TO GET ANDREW SARRIS' VIEWS ON WHY PREMINGER IS MORE TALENTED THAN FELLINI, AND TO READ JONAS MEKAS EXPLAIN WHY THIS WEEKS UNDERGROUND MOVIE THAT EVERYBODY WALKED OUT ON WAS REALLY A **TEST** TO SEE IF WE DARED FACE THE **TRUTH.** NEXT I CHECK THE THEATRE PAGE TO SEE IF MICHAEL SMITH IS FEELING ALL RIGHT. THEN I READ NAT HENTOFF TO SEE WHO SOLD OUT, FOLLOWED BY JACK NEWFIELDS LATEST EXPLANATION OF THE NEW LEFT, FOLLOWED BY IRVING HOWE'S CORRECTION OF NEWFIELD. THEN I READ THE MAIL WHICH CORRECTS HARRINGTON, KEMPTON, BROWNMILLER, LONG, SARRIS, MEKAS, SMITH, HENTOFF, NEWFIELD, AND HOWE. THEN I CHECK FEIFFER TO SEE IF HE'S LEARNED HOW TO DRAW YET. I USUALLY FINISH WITH THE EDITORIAL ON DE SAPIO. THEN I WRITE MY LETTER ACCUSING THEM OF GOING ESTABLISHMENT.

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Parting in Summer

by Katherine Garrison Chapin

No Rain

When you leave me
Let the day be this:
The sky a darkening gray
Pulled down before my eyes,
Clouds shapeless, thick.
No sound of rain
Fluttering leaves,
Feeding parched grass.

This day will pass.

I want no ruthless winds,
Not thunder, nor the splitting of a shaft
Of angry light.
Clear me no sunset to remember.

With numbness I can dull
The edges of your cruelty.
No invigorating pain
Shall rouse me.
Unlike the earth, supine,
I wait no rain.

Too Clear

Gone –
The landscape is the same.
Too sharp the sun
Too clear the distance,
I can see too far.

Should you look back –
What costs a wave of hand –
To that dear structure where
Our love made shelter,
You will find no answering signal,
I shall not be there.

Beggar's Pack

Spread on the floor I count my beggar's pack
Not knowing I had begged; not knowing
That I had kept and folded, put away
Like linens in a chest,
Bits that someday would prove delight or use,
Now they are worthless.

I want no letters speaking with your voice,
To make me wonder "were they lies?"
I want no keepsakes from our trips together
When we made calendar,
Neglected weather signs,
Lazed in the heat, or laughed above the cold.

Now with brush and cloth I clear the room,
Drawers, shelves and boxes of my memories.
Cobweb thoughts will spread, no broom
Can interrupt their traceries.

I close the door. In my small pack
I stow your weapons to defend my life,
Pride, indifference and ironic wit,
Better than slingshots or a switch-blade knife.

Defeat

Earth turns
The planets move.
Autumn comes up across the dune,
The burnt-out summer slides
into defeat,
Her banners down.

I am too proud to call an amnesty,
Too headstrong to admit my loss,
Too stubborn to retreat. I leave
The victory to you, the fame, the glitter.
Drink to the end –
The dregs are always bitter.

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Mr. Reston on the Press

by Marquis Childs

This is essentially a pessimistic prognosis of the influence of the press on the formulation of American foreign policy. It goes to the heart of the dilemma, which is that under the circumstances of the cold war the President has almost unlimited power to commit force wherever he chooses. And as the power increases, the influence of the press correspondingly declines.

The Artillery of the Press
by James Reston
(Harper & Row; $3.95)

It is hard to quarrel with this conclusion, as we see President Johnson almost daily enlarging the scope of his authority and overwhelming his critics by dominating the news. Yet the author searches diligently for remedies that might, at least, expand the range of the press in the field of foreign policy and enlist a wider public interest as a possible corrective to the unbridled authority of the chief executive. As with the engaging quality of his columns in *The New York Times*, Reston tempers his gloom with a generous infusion of optimism.

In his commentaries, even when he marshals the most somber array of facts on a given subject, rarely does he fail to find a promising exit in the strength of the American system and the sturdy virtues of the American people. This reflection of a sanguine temperament and a pragmatic view of life is unquestionably one reason for his wide following. It reflects so well our own temper; the conviction that our ills, however oppressive, are not incurable.

But in *The Artillery of the Press*, the Elihu Root lectures before the Council on Foreign Relations, Mr. Reston, it seems to me, tends to overlook certain fundamental relationships that contribute to the relative impotence of the press as he diagnoses it. There is an imbalance in the domination of a few newspapers and a handful of commentators insofar as any serious discussion of foreign policy is concerned. In his five lectures Reston referred on thirteen occasions to *The New York Times* and in a half-dozen instances to executives of *The Times*. Three other newspapers are mentioned in passing. This may not have been intended as a measure of the artillery of the press, in Thomas Jefferson's phrase. But it does suggest that the guns in position are few and the thunder of *The Times* must be assumed to be, in part at least, compensation for the lack of numbers.

Reston speaks of *The Times* as the greatest newspaper of record in the world today. With this no one would quarrel. It is proved abundantly day after day. What it implies, however, is that *The Times* is an incredibly detailed targeting map rather than an artillery piece. If only because of its lonely eminence, the nearest to a national newspaper that we have, *The Times*, in its broad collective identity, has seemed more often than not over the years concerned with giving the least possible offense to the powers that be. Reston's personal triumph is in transcending this pervasive collective identity and establishing a hallmark of his own. If even half of what has been printed about the rivalries and the struggles within this vast corporate body is true, that in itself is no mean feat.

Radio and television, the newsmagazines, are part of the battery, with such household names as Cronkite, Brinkley, Sevareid. But as Reston says, their function is primarily to report the news, rather than to comment on it, and thereby perhaps to influence the direction of policy. A noteworthy ex-

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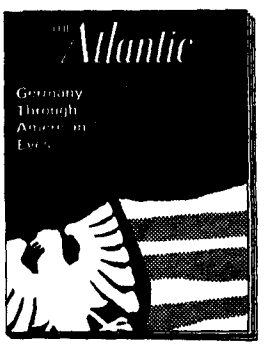

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ception is *Newsweek* which offers vigorous comment by Walter Lippmann, Emmet Hughes, Kenneth Crawford and others. As one remedy, Reston suggests that men who move in and out of public life, the foundations and the universities, McGeorge Bundy, J. K. Galbraith, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., be enlisted to do long and serious commentaries on the news in the making. It is not enough, he says, that they should write occasionally for *The New York Times Sunday Magazine*. He suggests that if Galbraith, for example, had taken time in the middle of the India-Pakistan war to analyze that conflict for the newspapers, he could have had an attentive audience of easily 20 million. As he pointed out earlier, however, the enormous distraction of fast-breaking news, which the communications media assume to be their principal responsibility, must raise serious doubts about the size of this audience.

The concluding note is characteristically one of hope. Reston believes that an increasingly educated electorate will provide a growing market for more serious papers and more serious radio and television. They will not drive out the bad, but they will supplement it for the thoughtful minority, the saving remnant. This must be for the present a matter of faith rather than evidence. There are newspapers trying to do just what he suggests must be done for the saving remnant. But they confront a harsh fact contributing to the imbalance prevailing today. This is the spiral of rapidly rising costs which is one of the reasons so many newspapers have disappeared. As this is written, the papers in New York are threatened with the fifth strike in five years and the price of newsprint has gone up and is going up again. *The Herald-Tribune* was only the most conspicuous and the most lamentable loss that could be scored against the squeeze of rising costs and declining revenues. The pessimist could probably establish a case that, in accord with Gresham's law, the good – that is to say the vital, vigorous and concerned – papers, are driven out by the safe and the profitable. This is not, needless to add, Reston's role. One must salute him for turning away from the gloom, the despair readily at hand in our time of troubles, as he so often does in his columns

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Slums and Politics

by Morris Renek

Looking down a slum street, the one sure thought you can have is that no radical thought built this. Yet when the propertyless city poor vote, they don't vote for radicals. They vote for the politics that built their slums. They read the newspapers that favor little change in their condition. Yet no group of Americans have been so feared and despised and reviled over so long a period of time as the city poor. Thomas Jefferson thought of them as the "swinish multitude." Before Andrew Jackson became President, the poor of New York did not have the right to vote for their own mayor, nor did they have a public school system to which to send their children. New York had private and charity schools. To send their children to charity schools, parents had to sign a pauper's oath. Parents too proud to be thus humiliated kept their children home. The cruelty of Professor Miller's subject, with its wide-awake title, is that during the period of Jacksonian democracy the aristocracy increased as the city poor became poorer.

Jacksonian Aristocracy: Class and Democracy in New York 1830-1860
by Douglas T. Miller
(Oxford; $6)

Miller's study is almost daringly brief on this paradox, but he does clearly show how Mark Twain's Gilded Age of the 1870's was already present in pre-Civil War New York. The city had become the richest, most populous and most influential area in the country. Though laws could now be passed, and were passed, to right some of the balance between the controlling aristocracy and the people (some went to prison for debts as small as 25c), the city poor nevertheless lived increasingly in health-destroying conditions:

> "By 1850 about 29,000 persons, largely immigrants, lived underground. Many of these dwellings were below sea-level, and flooding was a major problem. Others were filled with stagnant water, rotting garbage, or worse wastes. 'In many cases,' wrote an observer, 'the vaults of privies are situated on the same or a higher level, and the contents frequently ooze through walls into the occupied apartments'."

Miller is here writing of a period nearly fifty years before Jacob Riis and his revelations of New York poverty in *How The Other Half Lives*. The owners of these slums were many wealthy New Yorkers who "viewed the tenement house system as a lucrative investment. Profits often ran as high as 20 percent in a single year. . . . The chief owner of slum real estate in the fifties was William B. Astor – 'the landlord of New York' . . ." The first tenement was built on Water Street in 1833 so that by the end of the Civil War it was almost a generation old.

New York not only set the Robber Baron tone for post-Civil War America, it also bore the seeds of several front page stories that are still with us more than a century later. "The Civil War hurt the laboring classes for although unemployment was checked, the cost of living soared while wages seldom kept pace. Added to this was a growing fear among immigrant workers, especially the Irish, that a war to free the Southern slaves would bring in thousands of Negroes to take over their jobs. These discontents were brought to a head when the conscription of soldiers under the newly passed Draft Act began in New York in July 1863. In the eyes of laborers the law seemed to bear out the familiar adage that this was a rich man's war and a poor man's fight, since for $300 anyone

Notes on Contributors

Melvin Shefftz *is on the history faculty of the State University of New York at Binghamton.* Katherine Garrison Chapin's *newest book is* The Other Journey. Marquis Childs *is a veteran Washington correspondent.* Morris Renek *is the author of a novel,* The Big Hello.

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could buy a substitute and avoid the draft."

Miller doubtless believed he could do justice to New York in this period with a brief work, and that was unfortunate. We are here at a time just before the city poor are to be corralled by Mayor Fernando Wood and then, shortly after, by Boss Tweed. Any serious discussion of politics had to be thrown overboard in this short work. By itself the book is complete, yet it hangs oddly as though it were a long footnote or a dry run for a major study to come (which would be welcomed).

An old New York cartman in the late 1850's said, ". . . Verily, verily, I say unto you that New York has been growing *great* without growing good." The mordant thought implicit in Miller's study is that laws can be passed to bring justice to the poor while the poor grow in numbers and become poorer under this new protection.

Correspondence

Harried Potheads

Sirs:

David Sanford's article, "Pot Bust at Cornell" (April 15), declares that when the Tompkins County District Attorney "plans a bust he tells Cornell officials so that they can be in on it," and that a Cornell proctor who was interviewed does not disapprove of "entrapment, paid student informers, and agents posing as students." I am writing to express my thanks to your reporter for the reassurance and satisfaction his article has given me, that cherished traditions are being preserved at my *alma mater*.

In my time (A.B., 1949), the objects of Cornell's official righteous zeal were 1) politics, and 2) sex. For example: 1) concerned about the University's image and national security, and eager to implement a fraternity campaign of harassment, the chief disciplinary "dean" once used the threat of suspension and worse to attempt to get from me the membership list of a radical student organization of which I was the secretary (we had, along with other student organizations, provided the required list of officers); 2) my closest friend, an honors student and member of Phi Beta Kappa well along in his senior year (he is now a poet and literary critic), was expelled after an experience that would sound like something out of Nazi Germany or Stalinist Russia to anyone unappreciative of the menace to our way of life that the Cornell administration was fighting. A co-ed who had been under investigation by the University's private force of Dudley Do-Rights telephoned my friend and asked to visit him. The gumshoes – according to my recollection – either eavesdropped on the call using the switchboard operator at the co-ed's dorm as an agent, or followed the girl. Hours later, when the two were in bed asleep in my friend's quarters – in a privately owned rooming house off campus – the "Cornell University Campus Police," led by their chief, a former State Trooper, pounded on the *off*-campus door and threatened and shouted until they gained admission, after which they made the two undergraduate criminals dress and took them (or just the girl) into custody, for safe keeping until their expulsion a few days later.

Most strong colleges and universities in this country are content to devote their attention and their financial resources to the narrowly restricted ends of teaching and learning, and I know that there are many professors and administrators at Cornell who sympathize with the practice at those other schools; nevertheless, this alumnus is proud to point out, the University remains committed to expending a good deal of *its* attention and *its* resources in the traditional Cornell way, with the traditional Cornell moral zeal.

Stanley Sultan
Brighton, Mass.

David Sanford says, "It is a crime in New York [State] to know of the commission of a crime and not report it." From the context it is impossible to tell whether this statement is the advice that the Tompkins County DA has given Cornell to persuade it to cooperate in entrapping campus pot smokers, or whether it is the ground Cornell has concocted on its own to justify such cooperation, or whether it

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represents the conclusion of the author with or without advice of counsel. In any event, the statement is legally inaccurate if not downright wrong. Passively withholding information from the authorities about an actual or suspected crime was an offense at common law called "misprision of felony." But New York, unlike a small minority of states and the District of Columbia, doesn't recognize "common law crimes"; all penal offenses in New York today must be statutory, and there is no statutory equivalent for common law misprision. The closest you get to it is the crime of being an accessory after the fact, but this requires some *affirmative* act of aiding a known or probable offender to escape or evade criminal sanctions such as hiding him out, suppressing material evidence, or covering his trail or whereabouts. Passively withholding information isn't enough.

Whatever may be a person's moral duty as a citizen to cooperate with law enforcement officials, it is *not* a crime in New York to know of the commission of a crime and simply not report it. Doubtless many prosecutors prefer, for obvious reasons, to convey a contrary impression to the general public.

Abbott A. Leban
New York, New York

In reply:

The construction of law is Cornell's. The university's proctor, Lowell George, told me when I visited the campus that "there's a New York State law that any person knowing a crime to have been committed who withholds information or fails to report it is also guilty of a crime." Thus, Cornell feels compelled to report marijuana users to the Ithaca police and cooperate in their apprehension.

The "law" was recently employed at Cornell when the chief of the campus cops confiscated 130 copies of the *Trojan Horse*, the monthly student literary magazine, because he thought it might be legally obscene. When the Tompkins County DA and his men tried to confiscate more copies and to arrest students who were selling them, a riot nearly broke out. The matter was finally disposed of when the state supreme court ruled in favor of the *Horse* and the campus cop resigned.

When the Cornell SDS chapter set up a booth at Willard Straight Hall, the student union, to solicit pledges to burn draft cards, another "law" was invoked, this time a university rule that – again in Mr. George's words – "prohibits activities which are in violation of New York or federal laws." A student government committee had ordained that soliciting pledges violated the Selective Service Act. Again, the university finally backed down and allowed solicitations to continue, but not before several students had been temporarily suspended.

David Sanford

Reapportionment

Sirs:

Edgar and Jean Cahn (April 8) have performed an invaluable service by showing that virtually all state legislatures behind Senator Dirksen's plan for a back-door constitutional convention are malapportioned and under federal court orders to reapportion themselves. However, in one respect the Cahns' counsel may be risky. It would be dangerous to rely on the courts to abort this desperate last stand. As Mrs. Cahn herself is discovering as counsel for Adam Clayton Powell, the federal judiciary may shun politically sensitive matters within Congress' jurisdiction and control. Consequently, if Senator Dirksen's convention is stopped anywhere, it may have to be in Congress.

As the Cahns and Yale Professor Charles Black have emphasized, Congress has the power and obligation to reject defective applications for a convention, rather than pass the buck to the courts. The recent case of *Fortson* v. *Toombs* supports their argument that a malapportioned legislature can not validly initiate a constitutional convention. Such legislatures retain only *de facto* status. Until properly reapportioned, they may attend only to ordinary business authorized by state law. In *Fortson* v. *Toombs*, Chief Judge Tuttle of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals enjoined the Georgia legislature from submitting a revamped *state*

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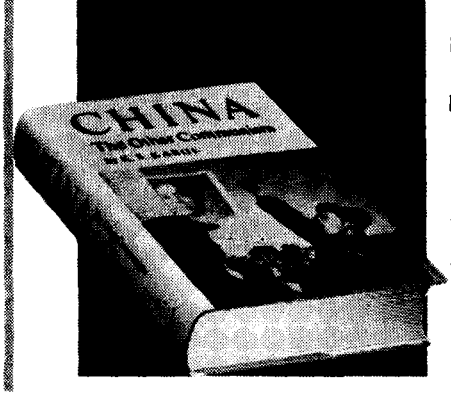

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constitution to the Georgia citizenry, until it reapportioned itself. The Supreme Court indicated approval of Tuttle's ruling. If state constitutional change is beyond the competence of a malapportioned legislature, it seems plain that it could not initiate a federal constitutional convention which would restructure the government of the whole nation.

Fortson v. *Toombs* was based on the Equal Protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Congress should heed that decision. Moreover, Congress has additional authority to reject the applications of unrepresentative legislatures. Unlike the courts, it is charged with enforcing the constitutional command that "The United States shall Guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of Government." Under Supreme Court decisions, the term "State," as used in the Guarantee clause, refers not to state *governments* but to people and community of each geographical entity in the federal union. The clause empowers Congress to protect the people of each state from any faction which wrests from them the benefits of republican government. As Justice Frankfurter noted in the first reapportionment case, *Baker* v. *Carr*, Congress is empowered to deal with malapportionment under the Guarantee clause. To fulfill its responsibility to protect republican institutions, Congress should refuse to assist malapportioned state legislatures in their scheme to perpetuate themselves.

Simon Lazarus
Leonard M. Ross
Hardy Wieting, Jr.
New Haven, Conn.

The Doctors' Bonanza

Sirs:

I come away from the article of Edward Chase ("The Doctors' Bonanza," April 15) with the impression that Mr. Chase sees the entire medical profession as engaged in a conspiracy to ensure that the problems of the American health care system are perpetuated. . . . I do not object to presenting the state of American medicine as tragically inadequate. Rather, I object to Mr. Chase's implications throughout that it is the materialism, selfishness, and general malevolence of the medical profession which is chiefly responsible for the situation. . . . I am a pre-medical student and have chosen medicine as a career after much thought. I like to believe that desire to serve is my chief motive for entering medical studies. But, to deny the influence of financial considerations would be dishonest. The life of a physician, though arduous, is materially as well as spiritually rewarding. The prospect of material reward is very attractive.

I will soon have completed three difficult (for me) years of pre-medical schooling and be $9,000 in debt. I have five more years of formal schooling to go, another $15,000. This is followed by a year of internship during which the pay is only about $300 per month. Then two years of residency followed by two or three years of compulsory military service. That makes $25,000 and fifteen years of my life invested in my medical career before I start. Will it be callous and immoral for me to then feel that my time and services are valuable? I think not; and I think that any system of socialized medicine, if it is to be successful here in America, cannot fail to take into account what it takes to become a doctor of medicine.

Thomas W. Long
Johns Hopkins University

How Is Youth to Be Served?

Sirs:

I find myself in substantial agreement with Henry Fairlie ("How Is Youth to Be Served?" April 8), but wonder if he isn't taking Senator Kennedy too literally. I doubt that the Senator makes the mistake that Mr. Fairlie rightly accuses so many parents of: trying to understand, to join, to imitate "youth." Rather, it would seem that Kennedy is speaking about himself, his own generation (and recall he *is* 40) and its "disillusionment and alienation." His generation has come to power during the thaw.

Kennedy's pragmatism makes it unlikely that he expects industry, organized labor or the liberals to respond to the young, to cater to their idealism. His plea can be heard as an intent one interrupted in November, 1963

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to do something personally about concerns and wrongs as seen with the growing knowledge of adulthood. . . . Since I view Kennedy as far more interested in action than ideology I read his article as a promise directed to the voters of 1972 and beyond – many of whom are indeed today's youth.

Richard Almond, MD
New Haven, Conn.

Kauffmann, *from page 18*

the loci of personality in society. The kings and the powerful had freedom of personal scope, the human machine components had not. "Ideally, the megamachine's personnel should consist of celibates, detached from family responsibilities, communal institutions, and ordinary human affections." It has a military ring, quite modern.

Consequently, Mumford examines the close relation between mechanical development and the history of war. His italics: *"Through the army, in fact, the standard model of the megamachine was transmitted from culture to culture."* He points out that the progress of invention is linked to military needs, from the first armies through Da Vinci and onward. Any spectator of the current space race can only grin in agreement. After millions of years of progress to achieve the ability to explore space, that exploration is being done in paramilitary competition: to establish national claims Out Yonder and to prove that one portion of one flyspeck in one of the countless universes is better than another portion of that flyspeck.

What comes clear to a reader in this account of invention is that the conscious and unconscious goal of man has been to countervail fact: to allow him to move without walking, to speak and see without being in the presence of the person spoken to or seen, to move on and through the water, to fly. The basic aim has been to master environment less in prosaic terms than in imaginative ones: to change the geography of reality and fantasy, to move the border of the first further and further into the territory of the second. Not everything Mumford tells us is

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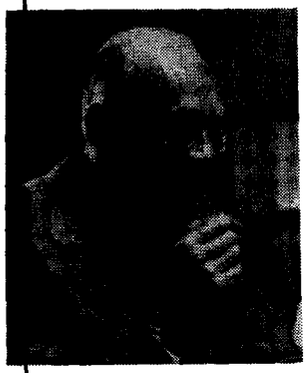

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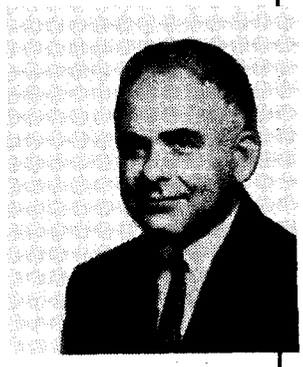

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or could be new. He himself has told us some of it before, particularly in his towering tetralogy on culture and technics called, overall, *The Renewal of Life* and in the monumental study, *The City in History*. Even his initial thesis here – the fallacy of defining man as a tool-using animal – is not original with him; he acknowledges that Loren C. Eiseley, "more than anyone else, had sparked this approach." In developing his own interpretations and speculations, Mumford is sometimes repetitious and not infrequently pontifical. His revisionism of other authors, though apparently sound, is sometimes drastic, as when, with two comments, he dismisses Max Weber's equation of the rise of capitalism with the rise of Protestantism. Even when he praises, he can occasionally set at least a few of our teeth on edge. And for one lay reader there was insufficient ecological material: explanation of why certain developments occurred in one place on earth and not elsewhere.

But this is the work of an orchestral stylist, of a rich and easy mind, powerful in knowledge, sensitive in inquiry, and purposeful. We hear a great deal these days about physics and higher mathematics as the avenue to – if not the residence of – 20th-century philosophy. But social and cultural anthropology, in the hands of such writers as Eiseley, Miss Hawkes and Mumford, by demythologizing the past, by anatomizing its truths, makes at least an equivalent contribution. If it is a truism that the future depends on the past, then at least it has never been more true. A book such as Mumford's gives any reader a sense of heritage that dwarfs any merely ethnic or national tradition and provides – both in terms of the possible and the impossible – some clues to a rationale.

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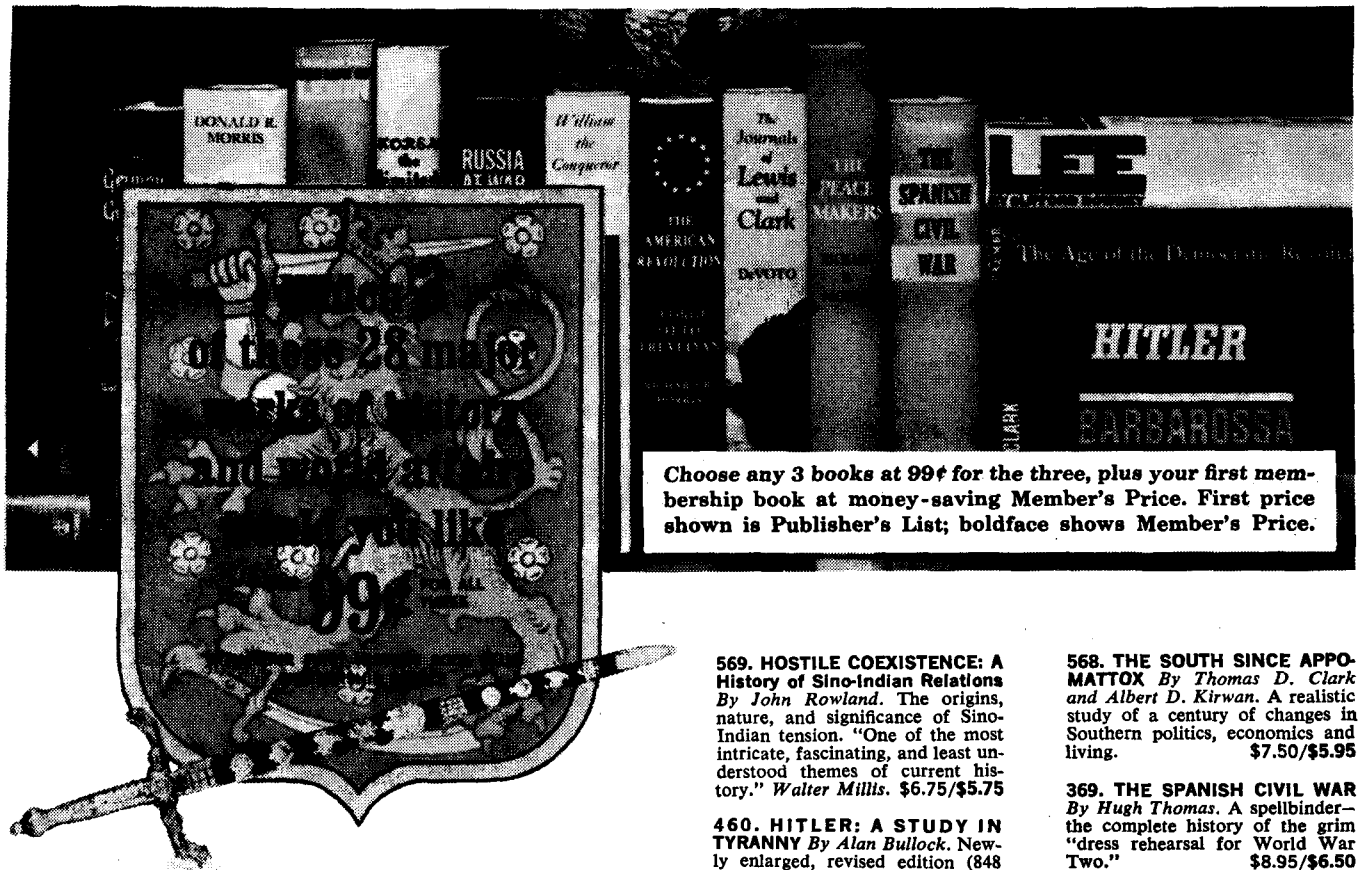

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